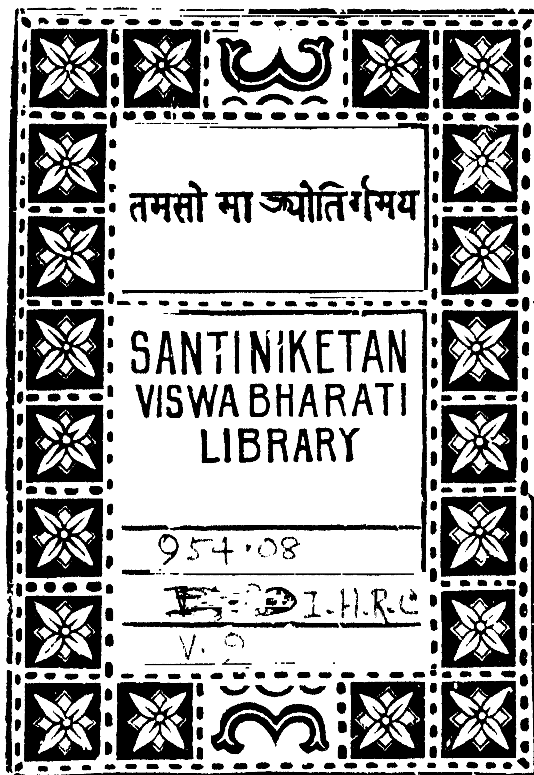


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# INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

# PROCEEDINGS

OF

# MEETINGS

## VOL. IX

### NINTH MEETING HELD AT LUCKNOW

*December 1926.*




CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

9TH SESSION, LUCKNOW,

*December 1926*



*Sitting—Left to right.*—(1) Mons. Singaravelou Pillai (*Pondicherry*). (2) Mr C. W. Gwynne, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow*). (3) Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A. (*Secretary to the Commission*). (4) Hon. Rai Rajeshwar Bali (*Minister of Education, U. P.*). (5) Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E. (6) Mr J. J. Cotton, I.C.S. (7) Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E. (8) Major H. L. O. Garrett, I.E.S. (9) Mr H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S. (10) Mr S. N. Roy, I.C.S.

*Standing—Left to right.*—(11) Mr Panna Lall, I.C.S. (*Deputy Commissioner, Unao*). (12) Mr Mesrovb J. Seth. (13) Mr Binod Bihari Sen Roy, M.A. (*Benares*). (14) Rai Sahib Prayag Dayal. (15) Khan Sahib Zafar Hasan, B.A. (16) Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D. (17) Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L. (18) Prof. J. C. Sinha, M.A. (19) Mr S. B. Smith, M.A. (20) Mr J. M. Mehta, B.A. (*Baroda*).

*3rd Row.*—(21) Mr Syed Naseer-ul-Hasan, M.A. (*Rampur*). (22) Dr Ram Prashad Tripathi M.A. (23) Prof. H. C. Sinha, M.Sc. (24) Mr Syed Khurshed Ali, M.A. (*Hyderabad*).

# Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lucknow on 16th and 17th December 1926.

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The ninth public meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Kaisarbagh Baradari, Lucknow, on the 16th of December 1926. An exhibition of documents, seals, coins, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from the Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private individuals was held in connection with the meeting. In the unavoidable absence of Mr H. G. Dennehey, I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, was voted to the Chair. The proceedings were opened at 11 A.M. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., M.A., a member of the Commission, was unavoidably absent.

The following members were present:—

1. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.
2. Mr J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S., Curator, Madras Record Office, and Editor of the Madras Gazetteer.
3. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona.
4. Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., Principal, Hooghly College, Bengal.
5. Mr H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
6. Mr S. N. Roy, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department (attended the meeting in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal).
7. Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary).

The following co-opted members were also present:—

1. Mr C. W. Gwynne, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.
2. Mr Panna Lall, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Unao.
3. Rai Saheb Prayag Dayal, M.R.A.S., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

4. Mr S. B. Smith, M.A., Canning College, Lucknow.
5. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University.
6. Dr Ram Prashad Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D., Allahabad University.
7. Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra.
8. Professor J. C. Sinha, M.A., Reader in Economics, Dacca University.
9. Mr Syed Khurshed Ali, M.A. (Hyderabad).
10. Mr J. M. Mehta, B.A. (Oxon), Professor of History and Economics, Baroda College (Baroda).
11. Mr Binod Bihari Sen Roy M.A. (Benares State).
12. Mr Syed Naseer-ul-Hasan, M.A. (Rampur State).
13. Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry.
14. Mr Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S. (Calcutta).
15. Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, and Honorary Superintendent, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, Calcutta.

The Hon'ble Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Minister of Education, after expressing His Excellency's regret at his inability to be present, read the following message of welcome from Sir William Marris, Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

## Message of Welcome from His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces to the Indian Historical Records Commission.

GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of my Government and myself I welcome your Commission on the occasion of its first session in the United Provinces. I hope that your stay in this attractive city of Lucknow will be pleasant, and that your proceedings will advance the cause of historical research.

2. These provinces are enormously rich in historical memories; they have witnessed many of the processes—invasion, conquest, settlement, discord, anarchy, re-integration—which as we know from our own experience in England, go to mature and to enrich the thought and character of a people. But some of these processes were obviously far from favourable either to the preparation, or to the preservation when prepared, of an orderly or even a continuous record of events. Very much material has perished that we would gladly have seen preserved.

3. The earliest English records housed in the province date back to the last quarter of the 18th century when the province of Benares was transferred

by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh to the East India Company. Selections from those records explaining the proceedings in the permanent settlement of what is now the Benares division, together with other interesting topics such as customs and trade, were selected by Mr Shakespeare, Commissioner, Benares division, and printed as long as fifty years ago. The records of the Board of Revenue begin in 1801 when the nucleus of the province of Oudh was obtained by cession from the Nawab Wazir. They form a stately set of folio volumes containing ample material for a complete revenue history of the province of Agra and are well-indexed in manuscript. For the mutiny period printed narratives are available: and the Oudh records to which I have alluded contain a wealth of interesting material regarding the pacification of that province. But beyond the printed proceedings of Government the Secretariat records contain few old papers, owing to disastrous losses in a fire which occurred about forty years ago.

4. Of early vernacular records we have few, as many record rooms were completely destroyed during the mutiny. At Fyzabad, however, we have the records of the first summary settlement, and in Benares and other districts of the Benares division there are still official papers dating from the early part of the 19th century. No state papers of Indian rulers in either province have survived in public collections.

5. Owing to the destruction of which I have spoken, a student who seeks to make researches into the historical records of the United Provinces labours under a heavy disadvantage. On the other hand many of the surviving records relating to the provinces must be sought elsewhere—for instance, in the archives of the Government of India or the Government of Bengal or the High Court of Fort William at Calcutta. To write a history of the East India Company's administration of this part of India it would be necessary to consult not merely our local records and those which I have just mentioned but of course the records in England also. But when all is said, I am obliged to admit that in this matter of progress in the publication of such historical records as we have, or the facilitation of their examination, these provinces cannot boast that they have been in the van. We have in fact not kept pace with most of the larger provinces. We have, it is true, within the last two years made rules for the supply of copies and information to the public and to regulate access to records which are in the Government Secretariat. It has, however, been found necessary for various reasons to place some restrictions on access to records of recent date. A proposal to constitute a separate record room in charge of a competent keeper has repeatedly been considered. It has been pressed upon us by various enthusiasts. It is a proposal which the Government would be glad to put in practice. But like many other most desirable things it has hitherto had to wait for better times and for a richer treasury. At the same time I do not regard the lack of it as the chief impediment. We chiefly need persons willing to undertake the labour of historical research. Among our officials we have had, and I hope will always have, mer

with the necessary taste and aptitude; but it is perhaps less easy than it was once for a man to find time for such things in addition to his ordinary work or for Government to detach a man for the purpose. Within the last six years we have however done something to arrange and to classify the older records. Members of the Commission will be familiar with Mr. Dewar's handbook to the English pre-Mutiny records in the Government record rooms of this province. Since that work was prepared the old Oudh records for the years 1858 to 1890 have also been arranged and indexed by Khan Sahib Saiyid Abu Muhammad.

6. Perhaps because it lies near to the capital city of Delhi, the province had great historians in the past, such as Barni and Badauni. Through the nineteenth century the torch was passed from hand to hand by Sir Henry Elliot, Edward Thomas, Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Vincent Smith and William Irvine. In more recent years Mr. Moreland's studies of economic conditions in the seventeenth century have won deserved admiration. Mr. Blunt's volume upon the Christian tombs and monuments of these provinces is itself a monument of most laborious research and contains a large amount of pure history. The establishment of the university professorship in modern Indian history at Allahabad, and the research department in the Lucknow University give promise of wider diffusion of interest in historical studies, and better training of professional historians. Mr Beni Prasad's study of Jahangir is the first notable product of the new school. We look forward to a rich and constant harvest to follow. Since the Commission last met, Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan's valuable guide to documents relating to India in the libraries of Great Britain has been published, and ought greatly to facilitate the work of students who can visit those libraries.

7. I hope that the members of the Commission will inspect the provincial museum in its temporary quarters at the Lal Baradari; and will appreciate the collections of copper plates and of coins, which are its most important acquisitions. The stone monuments cannot be adequately displayed at present, and in any case they form only a portion of the series available in the province for study. At Sarnath also a museum exists in which archaeological exhibits found locally are well-arranged and at Muttra a new building is under construction to house the large and valuable series of Muttra sculptures. The province has many ancient sites awaiting exploration when trained investigators are available. Such problems as the era of the Kushana Kings, which has recently been examined afresh by Dr Sten Konow in Epigraphia Indica, will probably be solved as surely as that of the Gupta era, by the discovery of an inscription with dates in both eras. In the temples of Kumaun and in private possession in that territory are many copper plates, a skilled examination of which may be expected to illuminate the political history of the Hindu rulers, the details of their revenue administration, and the development of the hill dialects. I repeat that in the first place it is workers who are wanted; for which reason I welcome the meeting of your Commission in

this province as likely to arouse fresh interest in historical research and to direct attention to the wealth of material not yet fully examined.

## Reply of Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Indian Historical Records Commission I beg to offer our thanks to His Excellency the Governor of this Province for the cordial terms in which he has welcomed us. His Excellency, in the address which has been just read out to you, has pointed out the various lines of historical research which invite workers. With a great residential University in its midst, Lucknow ought to take the foremost place in putting the ample and diversified historical materials existing in the province to the best possible use. A University can only train students in the art of dealing with original materials, interpreting the historical facts, and reconstructing the past. But the raw materials have to be supplied before these workers can achieve anything. In this historical province of Oudh, there can not be any question as to the immense magnitude and variety of the historical data ranging from the pre-Christian centuries to the period of the Mutiny which await labourers.

On behalf of Historical Commission I also offer our thanks to the citizens of Lucknow for having made our meeting a success. I do confess that we who come from outside the province feel a great interest in this picturesque and historical city, and that interest is not unmingled with a feeling of trepidation or fear. As one who has studied the Mediaeval history of India, I have always looked upon Lucknow as a place of unique importance. There have been great capitals of Muslim India in the past. They had been capitals, and they have ceased to be capitals.

Delhi and Agra, Aurangabad and Bidar had once been capitals and have now ceased to be such. To them it can be truly said,

> Lo! all your pomp of yesterday
> Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!

But such a remark would not be true of Lucknow. Lucknow may have ceased to be a political capital; (I am not referring to the delicate subject of the Lucknow-Allahabad rivalry), but it is still the intellectual capital of Muhammadan India. It is still the home of art and of music, still the home of the finest Urdu, for learning the classical form of which students must come to Lucknow. It was in the past famous for its sons who were masters of many arts, a delicate kind of wit and a fine literary style, which were unrivalled in Muhammadan India. That tradition still survives, and I do hope that your University will give to Lucknow a school of writers who will again make it the intellectual capital of Northern India.

I now come to the work of the Historical Commission. What we notice first is the absence of our former President from our midst. Sir Evan Cotton's

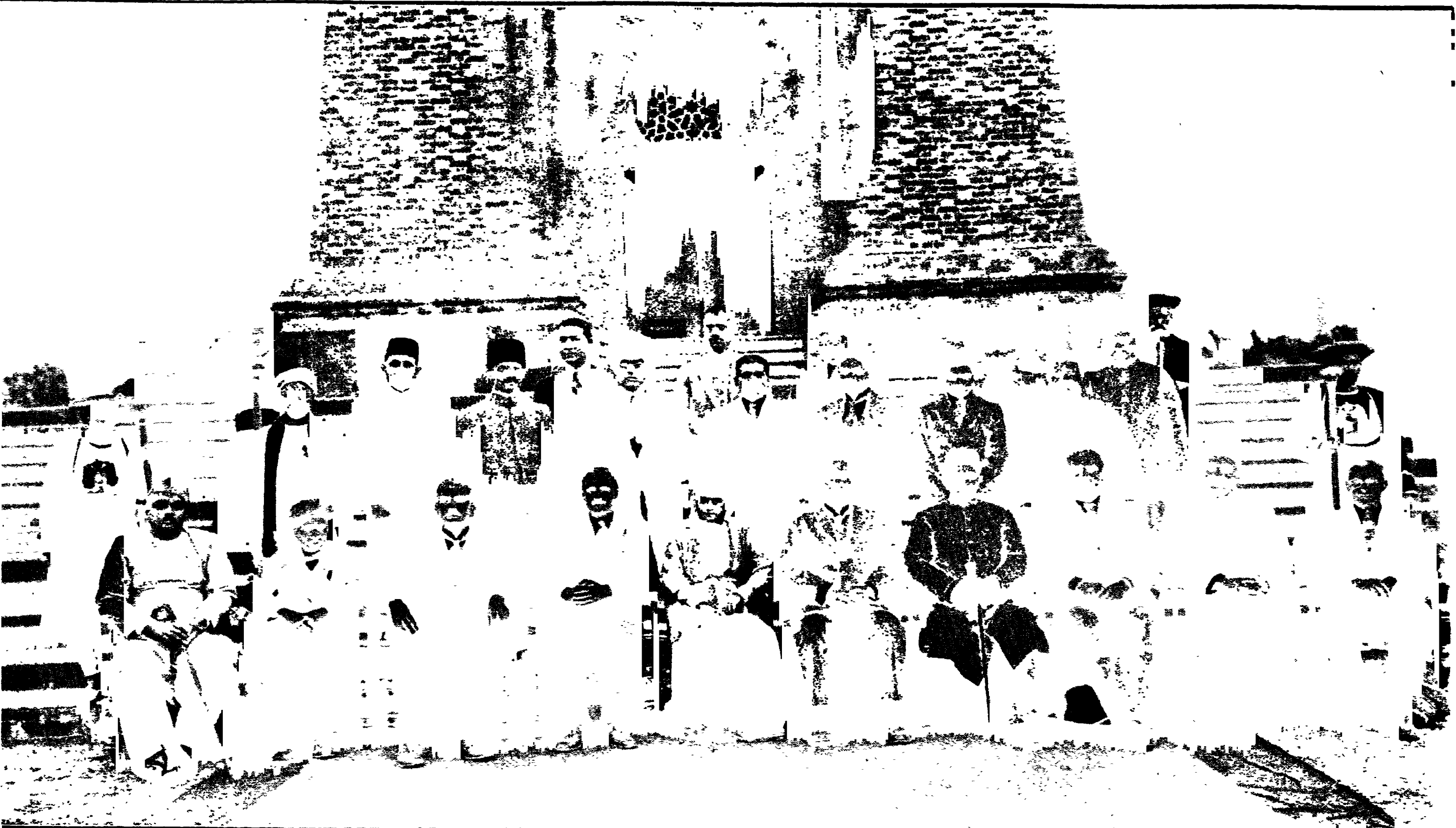
departure from India has been a great loss not only to the Calcutta Historical Society, not only to his personal friends, but also to this Records Commission. He made an ideal President of our Commission by reason of his unfailing tact, his personal charm, and his mastery of the history of British India in the 17th and 18th centuries. I have seen him poring over the old manuscript records at Calcutta in order to trace the minutest incident or personal history. The results of his researches adorn the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present* and other periodicals of equally high standing. The Records Commission has lost a valuable member and an extremely able student in Sir Evan Cotton. But he is still maintaining his interest in India and in our Commission, for he has sent for this meeting from England a paper on the famous French adventurer " Benoit de Boigne ", who administered what was formerly a part of the territory of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. I have also to mourn the loss of a very earnest worker in another department of Indian History, a loss unfortunately due to death,—I mean that of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara. It was his life's task to collect the materials of Maratha history and the history of other provinces of India during the Maratha period. To this he devoted all his fortune and all the years of his life, and he succeeded in a wonderful degree in saving from destruction many of the records of the Peshwa period. I have been his guest more than once, and I know that he made the preservation, classification and copying of these old records, the sole work of his life. He published a good deal, but much more remains in unprinted form. It will be the business of this Commission in its official sitting to make a recommendation to the Government of Bombay to secure for the public all the printed books and manuscripts left behind by Rao Bahadur Parasnis. When this Commission met at Poona for the last time he invited us to Satara to examine his collection. I am sure this Commission will convey its condolence to his bereaved sons.

In connection with this Commission we have for some years past been arranging for a Historical Exhibition. We want to attract younger workers to this field. The Exhibition which is going to be opened in this Hall, is not a very ambitious thing, but I am sure it is of educative value. It shows on a small scale what great materials of the past have been left behind and how these materials can be utilised. As one who has been a member of this Commission from its very inception, I have noticed that the public interest in the work of the Commission has been growing from year to year; it can not be denied that an impetus has been given to the study of history on the basis of records by the sessions of the Commission held in the different capitals of India. Workers from all parts of India have been brought together by means of our sittings and they have been given the opportunity of co-operation. Thus, the Commission has been trying to form a sort of association of historical workers and helping their work. You will be interested to learn that though it is not an international conference of scholars, but an advisory body created by the Government of India, yet it has attracted representatives from

TRUSTEES OF THE HUSSAINABAD ENDOWMENT

"AT HOME"

*To the Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (9th Session) held at Lucknow, at the Hussainabad Clock Tower Garden on the 17th December 1926.*



*Sitting*—*Left to right.*—(1) Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A. (*Secretary to the Commission*). (2) Mons. Singaravelou Pillai (*Pondicherry*). (3) Mr Mesrovb J. Seth (*Calcutta*). (4) Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E. (*Bengal*). (5) Mrs J. M. Mehta. (6) Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E. (*Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University*). (7) Nawab Mirza Baqur Mirza (*Trustee of Hussainabad*). (8) Mr J J. Cotton, I.C.S. (*Madras*). (9) Nawab Mirza Murtaza Husain Khan (*Trustee of Hussainabad and Special Magistrate, 1st Class*). (10) Mr C. W. Gwynne, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Adviser to the Trust and Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow*).

*Standing*—*Left to right.*—(11) A guest from Pondicherry. (12) Mr Syed Naseer-ul-Hasan, M.A. (*Rampur State*). (13) Mr Syed Khurshed Ali, M.A. (*Hyderabad, Deccan*). (14) Mr Binod Bihari Sen Roy, M.A. (*Benares*). (15) Mr Panna Lal, I.C.S. (*Deputy Commissioner, Unao*). (16) Mr A. Ghosh, M.A., B.L. (*Calcutta*). (17) Mr J. M. Mehta, B.A. (*Baroda*). (18) Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D. (*Lucknow University*). (19) Mr S. N. Roy, I.C.S. (*Bengal*). (20) Dr Ram Prashad Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (*Allahabad*). (21) Khan Sahib Zafar Hasan, B.A. (*Agra*). (22) Mr Syed Wajid Husain, M.A (*Secretary, Hussainabad Endowment and Deputy Collector*). (23) Clerk and Chobdars of the Trust.

the native states of Hyderabad, Baroda, Rampur and Benares, and a representative from Pondicherry. M. Singaravelou has attended our sessions for the last three years and he has thrown much light on some points of Indian history. Last year he gave us the Will of Nicholo Manucci, which he had discovered, and which I am sure my late friend Mr William Irvine would have gladly included in his famous edition of the *Storia do Mogor*. This year we have received a contribution from the extreme west coast of India. A Portuguese subject, Senhor Panduranga Pissurlencar, has sent us a paper embodying the result of his researches among the Portuguese archives at Goa, which throws much light on Maratha history. This, I venture to say, is no small achievement for a Commission which is only eight years old.

I can not conclude without thanking Nawabzada Abdul Ali for the immense amount of labour he had to go through in making the necessary arrangements for our session here. I know, last night he worked up to one o'clock in the morning, and he has been working at this rate for several days past, and it will be some days after the conclusion of our meetings before his labours here can end. If we have attained to any success it has been due to his attention and care. We have already attracted a few research workers to the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta, and as the message of His Excellency suggests there is much to be done here also. All that I can do at present is to repeat the call to sincere workers, for more men to till the field that lies before them, as the field is very large and the promised harvest most glorious.

A number of papers were then read. The meeting lasted till 4 P.M. After the meeting was over, the members of the Commission were entertained at tea at the Baradari by the Secretary.

The Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Lucknow session of the Commission was opened in the evening, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. The exhibits comprised historical records, *sanads*, *farmans*, maps, paintings, seals, coins and specimens of caligraphy. A number of interesting documents and paintings were exhibited by the representatives of Hyderabad and Benares States. The Exhibition proved to be a great success and in response to numerous requests from the press and the public it was kept open till the evening of the 19th December. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in Appendix C.

On the morning of the 17th December the members of the Commission visited the Lucknow Residency. At 11 A.M. on the same day the members' meeting was held in the library of the Council House at Kaisarbagh. In the afternoon the members of the Commission were taken round to various places of interest in the city and its suburbs by Mr C. W. Gwynne. In the evening the members were entertained at a Garden Party at Hussainabad by the Trustees of the Imambarah. On the morning of the 18th December the members of the Commission inspected the Lucknow Museum.

# Benoit de Boigne.

## "Guereggio in Asia, e non vi Cambio o Merco."

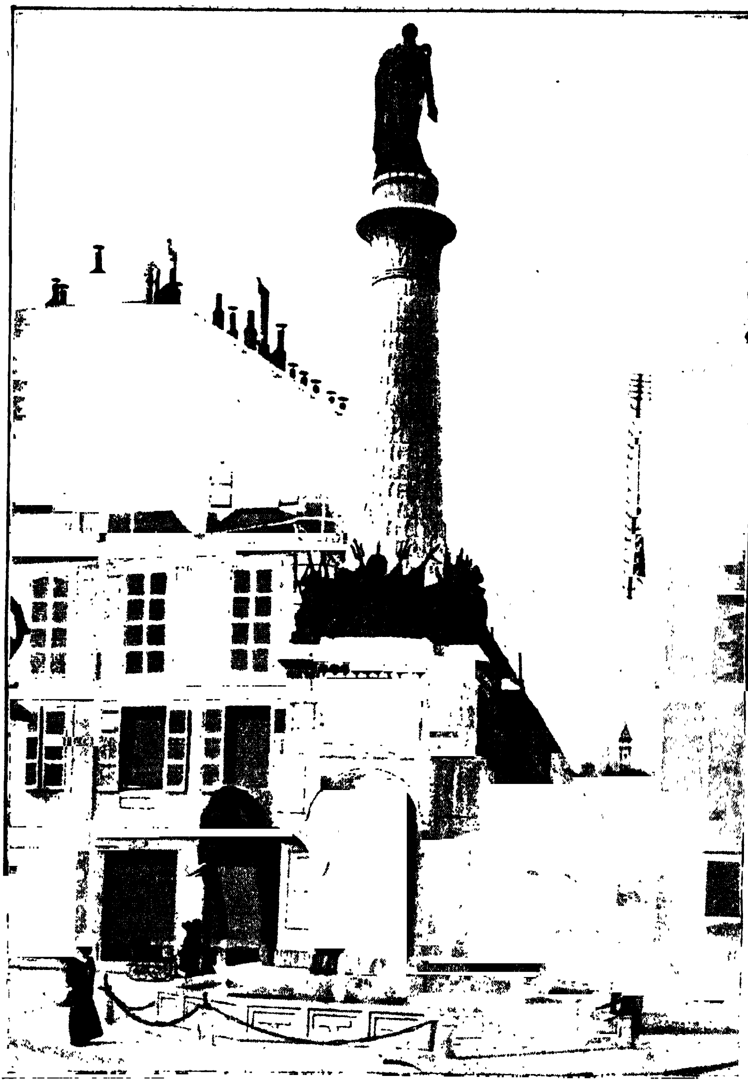
(By Sir Evan Cotton, Kt., C.I.E.)

NINE miles from the fashionable thermal resort of Aix-les-Bains the enquiring traveller will find the old-world town of Chambéry, once the capital of the dukes of Savoy (ancestors of the present Italian royal family) and since 1860 the headquarters of the French department of Savoie. It stands on the rail-road from Paris to Turin which passes into Italy under the Mont Cenis; but it is not frequented by tourists, unless it be for an hour or two in the course of excursions from Aix-Les-Bains. Yet several days can be spent with profit in exploring its narrow streets with their unexpected archways, and in visiting its fourteenth-century cathedral and its equally ancient château, which was in older times the ducal palace and is now used as the préfecture and as military offices. To students of Indian history, moreover, it offers a feature of enduring interest in the Fontaine des Eléphants, which commemorates its connexion with Benoît de Boigne, the famous soldier of fortune and right hand man of Madhoji Sindhia. For it was at Chambéry that de Boigne—or La Borgne, to give him his father's surname—was born on March 8, 1751, and it was to Chambéry that he retired in 1803 to end his days, after his return from India with a fortune of £400,000. Until his death on June 21, 1830, he showered benefactions upon his native town, building and endowing two hospitals, a lunatic asylum, a trade institute for girls, an almshouse, a college and a public library.

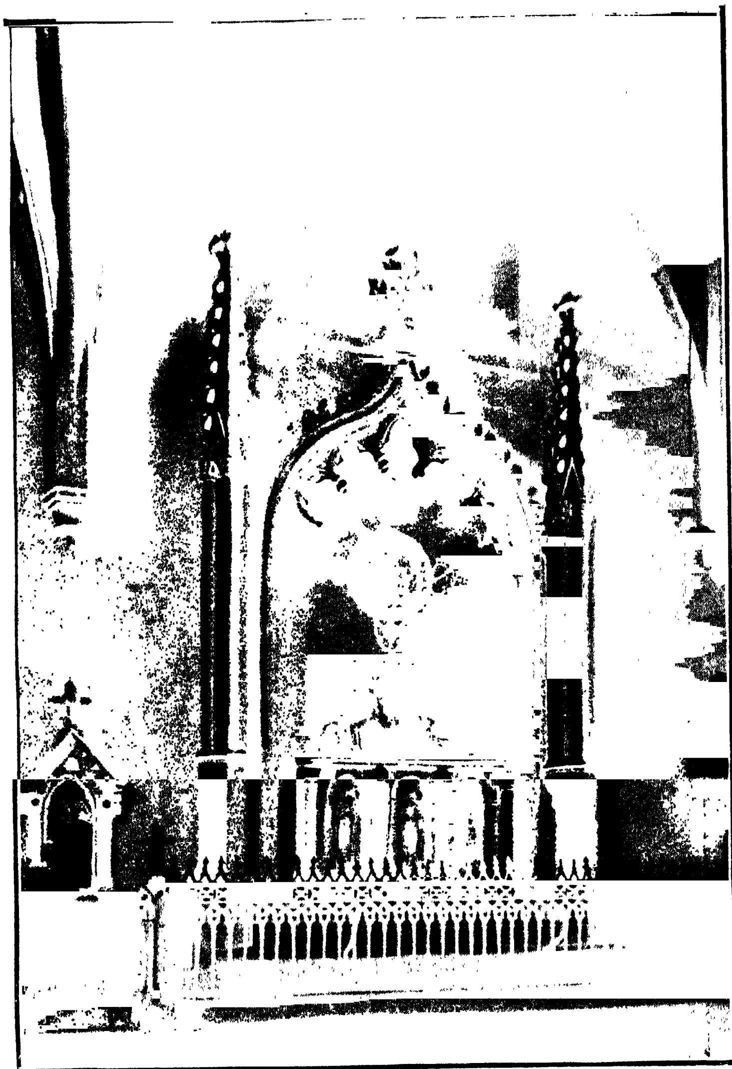
The Fontaine des Eléphants which is the work of Sappey, a Grenoble sculptor, and was erected in 1838, bears lasting testimony to the gratitude of the citizens of Chambéry. It consists of a tall column on a substantial pedestal surmounted by a statue of de Boigne, and takes its name from the four colossal elephants at the base, whose trunks provide a constant supply of water. The situation is admirably chosen. To left and right of the square runs a shady boulevard: behind the monument is a low building backed by the imposing mass of the Dent du Nivolet: and facing it is the Rue de Boigne, which forms a charming vista with its double arcade and the château in the distance.

At the foot of the column are trophies of arms and below there are inscriptions in Latin and two *bas-reliefs*. In front, towards the Rue de Boigne, we read:

BENEDICTO DE BOIGNE
CAMBERIENSI
GRATA CIVITAS
M DCCC XXXVIII.



The Fontaine des Elephants at Chambery and the Rue de Boigne.



Tomb of de Boigne in the Church of Lemene at Chambery.

and at the rear the following supplementary words:

QUAM APUD INDOS MAHRATTAS
FAMA NOMINIS ILLUSTRARAT
CIVIS BENEFICUS
PATRIAM INAUDITIS LARGITIONIBUS
VIVUS REPLEVIT[1]

The two bas-reliefs represent scenes in his career. The one on the right hand side shows de Boigne taking farewell of his Mahratta friends. On the left hand side we see him announcing his benefactions to the town councillors of Chambéry.

The tomb of de Boigne will be sought in vain in the Cathedral. He lies buried, at his own request, in the church of Lemenc which stands upon a hill above the town and occupies, it is said, the site of a Roman temple of Mercury. The church is reputed to owe its origin to Saint Concord, or Cornelius, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, who was seized with illness and died at this spot in 1176 on his return from Rome. This Irish Saint is invoked by the Savoyards in time of drought: and his festival is celebrated every year on June 4 with much ceremony. The tomb of de Boigne is the first monument on the left upon entering the church which stands at one end of a cloistered courtyard. His sculptured figure reclines on a large stone coffer decorated with the images of three saints in the form of a triptych. The surroundings of the niche in which the monument is placed are a trifle ornate: but nothing could be simpler than the legend: "Hic Jacet Benedictus de Boigne comes et dux exercituum, obit 21 Junii, 1830."[2]

When de Boigne bought his estate on the outskirts of Chambéry in 1803 and built thereon a magnificent mansion which he named Buisson, Savoy was part of France. It had been annexed in 1792 and with the district around Annecy, formed the department of Mont Blanc. After the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, it was restored to its former dukes who were now kings of Sardinia. Chambéry had however ceased to be the capital as long ago as 1562 when Philip-Emanuel transferred it to Turin. In 1860 the province was handed over to Napoleon the Third, as part of the price of his assistance against the Austrians in the Italian War of Liberation. But this was long after the death of de Boigne: and he ended his life, as he began it, as a subject of the king of Sardinia.

The honours which he received in his retirement were both French and Sardinian. He was appointed by Louis the Eighteenth at the Restoration

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[1] To Benedict (Benoît) de Boigne of Chambéry, a Grateful Township, 1838. A Beneficent citizen, he filled with unheard-of gifts the place of his birth, which the renown of his name among the Mahrattas in India had covered with glory.

[2] Here lies Benedict (Benoit) de Boigne, count and leader of armies, deceased, June 21, 1830.

of the Bourbons to be a Maréchal de Camp, and a knight of the Legion of Honour and of the order of Saint Louis. In 1815 Victor Emanuel of Sardinia created him a Count, and a Lieutenant-general, and conferred upon him the Grand Cross of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. He was succeeded in his title by his son who was born at Delhi in 1792 and whose mother a Mahomedan lady, was said to be the daughter of a Persian colonel. The boy and his sister were known originally as Ali Bakhsh and Banu, but were baptized, after their father had brought them with him to Europe, by the names of Charles Alexandre and Anna. The latter died at Paris in 1810, but Charles married the daughter of a French nobleman, and was in 1853 succeeded in his turn by his son who is the present Comte de Boigne. The well-known memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne were written by the young lady (Mdlle Eleonora Adele d'Osmond) whose father the Marquis d'Osmond was at one time French Ambassador in England, and whom de Boigne married in London[3] within a year of his return from India. There were no children of the marriage.

The Comtesse draws a very unflattering portrait of her husband in her memoirs (Vol. I. p. 115):—

> I do not know by what paths he had passed from an Irish legion in the French Service to the back of an elephant, from which he commanded an army of 30,000 sepoys . . . . He must have used much skill and cleverness to leave the country with some small portion of the wealth which he possessed, and which none-the-less amounted to ten millions. The rapidity with which he had passed from the lowest rank to the position of commander-in-chief, and from poverty to vast wealth, had never permitted him to acquire any social polish and the habits of polite society were entirely unknown to him. An illness from which he was recovering had forced him to make an immoderate use of opium, which had paralysed his moral and physical powers. Years of life in India had added the full force of oriental jealousy to that which would naturally arise in a man of his age: in addition to this, he was endowed with the most disagreeable character that providence ever granted to man. He wished to arouse dislike as others wished to please. He was anxious to make everyone feel the domination of his great wealth, and he thought the only mode of making an impression was to hurt the feelings of other people. He insulted his servants, he offended his guests, and his wife was, *à fortiori*, a victim to this grievous fault of character. He was an honourable man, trustworthy in business, and his ill-breeding had even a certain kind of heartiness: but his disagreeable temperament, displayed with all the ostentation of wealth, the most repellent of all forms of outward show, made association with him so unpleasant

[3] The marriage was celebrated on June 11, 1798, at the French Catholic Chapel in Paddington Street, London.

a business that he was never able to secure the friendship of any individual in any class of society, notwithstanding his numerous benefactions.

The fact which underlies these bitter touches, is that the young girl of sixteen was wholly unsuited to the man of forty-nine whom she married, as she admits, on account of his wealth, in order to "secure her parents' future independence." They separated at the end of ten months, and she died as recently as 1866. In his retirement de Boigne was always pleased to welcome any English officers from India: and among those who visited him at Chambéry were Colonel James Tod and Grant Duff, the historians of the Rajputs and the Mahrattas. Interesting accounts of his career in India have been left by both of them[4] and Thomas Twining who stayed with him at Coel (Aligarh) in December, 1794, persuaded him also to tell the history of his early life.[5] The amplest details are, however, to be found in two letters contributed by one Longinus to the Calcutta "Telegraph" in 1797. These are dated from Agra, December 20, 1796, and January 2, 1797, and are reproduced as an appendix to Lewis Ferdinand Smith's "Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Regular corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India" (first edition, Calcutta, n. d.; 2nd edition, London, 1805). These sources are supplemented by two works in French which are preserved in the Public Library at Chambéry[6]: "Memoire Sur la carrière de M. le General Comte de Boigne" (Chambéry, 1829-1830) and M. de St. Genis' book "Une Page Inedite Sur l'histoire de l'Inde" (Poitiers, 1873).

It had been the intention of de Boigne's father, who was a hide merchant at Chambéry, that he should become a lawyer: but the profession of arms attracted him from an early age. The army of Savoy was closed to him, inasmuch as commissions were exclusively reserved for those of noble birth: and he therefore crossed the frontier into France in 1768 and at the age of 17 joined as an ensign the Clare Regiment of the Irish Brigade, a corps famous for its discipline. The next three years were spent in Flanders and the regiment was then ordered to the Isle de France (Mauritius), where it remained for eighteen months. Upon its return to France in 1774, de Boigne resigned his commission and proceeded to the island of Paros in the Greek Archipelago where he obtained a captaincy in a Greek regiment in the service of the Empress Catherine of Russia who was then at war with the Turks. After a few weeks he was taken prisoner in the course of an unsuccessful attack on the island of Tenedos and, according to "Longinus," was sold as a slave at Constantinople for fifty dollars.

[4] Tod's Rajasthan, 1829 edn., Vol. I, p. 765: Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, 1921 edn., Vol. II, pp. 160-161 (note).

[5] Travels in India, a Hundred years Ago: pp. 271 *seqq.*

[6] See also Herbert Compton's "Military Adventurers in Hindostan," who says that the letters in the Telegraph were by Smith himself.

> At the conclusion of the war he was redeemed by his parents and went to Petersburgh where he had the honour to be introduced to the Empress. At Petersburgh he was admitted to the acquaintance of Lord Macartney, the then British Ambassador[7] and received as a reward for his slavery the rank of lieutenant. From Petersburgh he was detached to some Russian port near the Archipelago and he was so fortunate as to accompany Lord Percy in a tour his Lordship made through the Grecian islands. This was the embryo of de Boigne's future success and produced those scenes in which he has been so conspicuous and so brilliant an actor . . . De Boigne formed no idea of his intimacy with his Lordship adequate to his success . . . and Lord Percy in giving him a letter of recommendation to Lord Macartney the Governor of Madras and one to Mr. Hastings of Bengal little imagined he should raise the subaltern who commanded his guard to the subduer of kingdoms equal to Britain . . . Shortly after this fortuitous circumstance I believe he went once more to Petersburgh and proposed through the Russian minister to the Empress the execution of a voyage to India and a circuit through Cashmeer, Tartary, and the borders of the Caspian to Russia. Catharine who ever relished and encouraged adventurous travellers approved of the scheme, and de Boigne received the commission of a captain to his departure.

At this point "Longinus" breaks off the story abruptly and continues it after the arrival of de Boigne at Madras, which he refers incorrectly to the year 1780. But before we follow him thither, we must note that de Boigne's own version of his adventures in Turkey is slightly different. He told Twining that he made the acquaintance of Lord Percy while a prisoner with the Turks "and seemed to ascribe his release to Lord Percy's influence." Grant Duff supplies another variant based likewise on the authority of de Boigne himself "from notes taken in his presence" at his house at Chambéry. No mention occurs of Lord Percy.

> Being employed on an injudicious descent made upon the island of Tenedos, he was taken prisoner by a sally from the Turkish garrison and conveyed to Scio, where he was kept until the peace which was soon after concluded. On being released, he embarked for Smyrna at which place, happening to meet some Englishmen from India, he was so struck with their account of the country that he resolved on trying his fortune there[8]. He proceeded to Constantinople and

[7] Macartney was ambassador to Russia from 1764 to 1767; and filled the office of Governor of Fort Saint George from June 22, 1781, to June 14, 1785.

[8] According to Compton, who does not give his authority, de Boigne and Lord Percy touched at Smyrna in the course of their tour, and there met some European merchants lately returned from the East. "Fascinated by their description of India, de Boigne obtained from Lord Percy a letter of introduction to Warren Hastings."

thence to Aleppo[9] where he joined a caravan for Bagdad; but in consequence of the success of the Persians against the Turks, the caravan, after they had arrived near Bagdad, being under an apprehension of falling into the hands of the victors, retraced their steps to Aleppo. De Boigne, balked of his endeavour of getting to India by that route, repaired to Grand Cairo[10] where he became acquainted with Mr. George Baldwin, the British Consul General, and through his influence and kindness not only obtained a passage to India but by a letter to Major Sydenham, town-major of Fort Saint George, was, soon after his arrival at Madras, recommended to Mr. Rumbold, the Governor[11] and appointed an ensign in the 6th Native battalion under that Presidency.

De Boigne reached India by way of the Red Sea in a country ship and arrived at Fort Saint George in January 1778. The regiment to which he was gazetted as ensign formed part of the force under Colonel Baillie which was cut to pieces by Hyder Ali in 1780 at Pollilore (north west of Conjeeveram); but he had been detached to convoy a supply of grain to Madras and so escaped the disaster. Shortly afterwards he resigned his commission in the Company's service. Says "Longinus."

> He soon quitted a situation so ill adapted to his mind, not, as some have imagined, by the decision of a court-martial. It is true that a court-martial was held on him for taking some improper liberties with an officer's wife, but he was honourably acquitted. Of this I have been assured by the late Capt. Harvey, who was one of the members of the Court. De Boigne often said that a progressive service held out no enticing prospect nor suited his years or his views.

Grant Duff attributes his resignation to "an act of injustice which he conceived he had experienced from the Governor, Lord Macartney, respecting the adjutancy of a detachment" and adds that "Lord Macartney, when he became sensible of the injustice, would have repaired it." De Boigne had, however, made up his mind to proceed to Calcutta and travel thence overland to Russia. Lord Macartney accordingly gave him a letter of recommendation to Warren Hastings and armed with this and the letter which Lord Percy had already given him, he reached Calcutta in 1782 and "declared the plan of his intended tour to the Governor General, concealing the personage for whom it was undertaken"[12]. Hastings received him with kindness and furnished him with letters to Asaf-ud-daula the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and

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[9] This was in 1777.

[10] He sailed in the first instance for Alexandria and was wrecked off the mouth of the Nile whence he made his way to Cairo. At that place according to Compton, he fell in once more with Lord Percy.

[11] From February 8, 1778, to April 6, 1780. After his departure John Whitehill and Charles Smith officiated in turn as Governor until the arrival of Lord Macartney on June 22, 1781.

[12] "Longinus," who is the authority for this statement, does not explain who the "personage" was. Apparently it was the Empress Catherine.

John Bristow, the Resident at Lucknow. Upon his arrival at Lucknow in the early part of 1783 the Nawab presented him with a khillat, which he sold for four thousand rupees, and also with letters of credit on Kabul and Kandahar for Rs. 12,000.

After a stay of five months during which time he perfected himself in the vernacular and formed a lifelong friendship with Claude Martin, he set out on his journey in company with Major Brown who had been deputed on a mission to the Emperor at Delhi.[13] The progress of the mission was delayed by the jealousy of the Emperor's ministers and de Boigne accepted the invitation of David Anderson, the Resident, to visit the camp of Madhoji Sindhia, who was engaged in the invasion of the territories of the Jat Rana of Gohad. Sindhia caused his baggage to be stolen and himself to be detained under arrest, and although matters were put right on the representations of Anderson, the letters of credit were not returned. De Boigne, being without means, made overtures to the Rana of Gohad, whose fortress of Gwalior was being besieged by Sindhia: but the Rana had already in his pay Rene Madec's battalion of a thousand men under the command of a Scotchman named Sangster,[14] and declined his proposal to raise an additional brigade of five regiments. Partab Singh, the Raja of Jaipur received him more favourably: but the project was disapproved by Hastings, who ordered him down to Calcutta, but permitted him after receiving his explanation to return to Lucknow.

Madhoji Sindhia had by now learned the value of disciplined infantry and invited de Boigne, to raise two battalions with the necessary artillery. His task began in 1784: and soon as the regiments were ready to take the field, they were sent to join Appa Khandi Rao in Bundelkhand. The siege and capture of Kalinjar a strong fortress within a few miles to the south of Allahabad, established the reputation of de Boigne: and in January 1785 Madhoji entered Delhi and replaced the Mogul Shah Alam on his puppet throne. Early in 1787 he proceeded with the forces of Appa Khandi Rao and de Boigne, to begin a campaign against the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaipur. The rival armies met at Lalsot, some miles to the south-east of Jaipur. De Boigne's battalions received the charge of the Rathor cavalry in hollow square and broke their ranks. But the Mogul army in the centre refused to stir and deserted *en masse*: and Madhoji was compelled to retire on Alwar.

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[13] William Hodges, the Royal Academician arrived at Lucknow on January 25, 1783 (Travels, p. 100) and joined the party of Major Brown at Etawah on February 13. After visiting Agra, Sikandra, and Fatehpur Sikri, he left the camp of Major Brown on April 28, "as no probability appeared of reaching Delhi under the sanction of the embassy," and proceeded to Gwalior where Madhoji Sindhia was encamped. He was not permitted to visit the camp and set out on May 12 for Lucknow where he arrived on the 16th. The dates suggest that de Boigne accompanied him to Gwalior.

[14] Hodges (p. 144) relates that he met at Gohad on April 13, 1783, "an Englishman, who was a watchmaker but at this time commanded two battalions of the Rana's infantry. he expressed himself heartily tired of his military career and a wish to return within the British territories to his former occupation, as he had made some little property in the Rana's service, which he wished to retreat with, but had no means to convey it, not being suffered to depart: he therefore requested I would take charge of a casket for him to Lucknow, which I readily did, and delivered it to his friend."

Ghúlam Kadir, a Rohilla freebooter, had meanwhile captured Aligarh and was besieging Agra. In the spring of 1788, Sindhia resumed the campaign: and won a complete victory, once more by the help of the Boigne, at Chaksana, about eight miles from Bhurtpore, on April 24. Another battle followed outside Agra on June 18, and Mahratta supremacy was restored. Ghulam Kadir fled to Delhi and blinded the unhappy Emperor: but was speedily compelled to evacuate the capital and was captured near Meerut and cruelly put to death.

De Boigne now proposed to Sindhia that his two battalions should be increased to a brigade of 10,000 men: but the Mahratta refused, and de Boigne left Delhi in 1789 and went to Lucknow where he opened a successful and lucrative business in cloth and indigo, under the advice of his friend Martin. Early in 1790, however, Madhoji who was then in camp at Muttra, invited de Boigne to rejoin him. The offer was accépted, and de Boigne was entrusted with the task of raising a brigade of ten infantry battalions, with a suitable train of cavalry and aritllery. All were to be disciplined in the English style and officered by Europeans. Agra was assigned as a depot for army and munitions of war: and de Boigne set to work. His two battalions and a third which had been commanded by a Frenchman named Lestineau, served as a nucleus: and the seven remaining battalions were speedily raised. The rank of general was conferred upon him, and a large and rich tract of country in the Doab was assigned to him as a *Jaidad*, or Jaghir of which the revenue was to be devoted to the upkeep of his corps. When he first took over charge of his province, over which he exercised complete control, its income amounted to sixteen lakhs of rupees, but by careful administration this was increased to thirty lakhs.

Hostilities recommenced in the summer of 1790. The Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur made common cause with Ismail Beg, the Mogul General who had deserted at Lalsot: and on June 20 the armies met at Patan in the Shekhawati country. Ismail Beg and his Pathan cavalry charged three times through de Boigne's ranks and cut down his artillery men at their guns: but to no purpose. There exists an account of the battle which was written by de Boigne himself four days after it was fought, and which was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 22, 1790:—

> Our victory is astonishing: A complete victory gained by a handful of men, over such a number in such a position: It may surprise you when I say that in less than three hours' time 12,000 rounds and 1,500 grape shot were fired by us, and by the enemy much more, as they had two guns to our one . . . I have taken 107 pieces of artillery, 6,000 stand of arms, 252 colours, fifteen elephants 200 camels, 513 horses, and above all 3,000 oxen . . . . all their camp was burnt or destroyed, they have absolutely saved nothing but their lives.

Madhoji now ordered de Boigne to attack Jodhpur. Raja Bijai Singh resolved to resist him, and with 30,000 Rahtors awaited him at Merta, a large walled city thirty miles to the east of Ajmer. Battle was joined on September 12, 1790, after some preliminary skirmishes. A night attack was made on the Rahtor camp, which was taken by surprise: but the twenty-two Rajput chiefs who had answered the call of Bijai Singh, nerved themselves for a final effort. Drinking opium together for the last time, they wrapped themselves in robes of yellow silk and at the head of four thousand followers, charged the three battalions of Rohan, a French officer on the right wing of de Boigne's brigade, which had imprudently advanced. They were driven back in disorder, and the Rajputs turned to attack the main body. De Boigne rapidly formed his men into hollow square, and although charge after charge was directed against front, flank and rear, discipline told. Fifteen Rahtors at last remained and they returned for the last time to the charge.

Tod in his *Rajasthan* (1829 edn., Vol. I, p. 766) mentions that de Boigne led his soldiers into action under the white cross of Savoy and quotes the following account of the battle of Merta from the Memoire published at Chambéry in 1829, and "written under the eye of his son, the Comte Charles de Boigne." It was, he says, put into his possession, "by a singular coincidence, just as I am writing this portion of my narrative":—

> "Les forces des Rajepoutes se composaient de trente mille cavaliers, de vinght mille hommes d'infanterie reguliere et de vingt-cinq pièces de canon. Les Marhattes avaient une cavalerie égale en nombre à celle de l'ennemi, mais leur infanterie se bornait aux bataillons de M. de Boigne soutenus, it est vrai, par vingt quatre pièces d'artillerie. Le général examina la position de l'ennemi, il étudia le terrain et arrêta son plan de bataille.
>
> Le dix [15] avant le jour, la brigade reçut l'ordre de marcher en avant, et elle surprit les Rajepoutes pendant qu'ils faisaient leurs ablutions de matin. Les premiers bataillons avec cinquante pièces de canon tirant à mitraille enfoncèrent les lignes de l'ennemi et enlèverent ses positions. Rohan qui commandait l'aile droite, à la vue de ce premier advantage, sans avoir reçu aucun ordre, eut l'imprudence de s'avancer hors de la ligne au combat à la tête de trois bataillons. La cavalerie Rahtore profitant de cette faute, fondit à l'instant sur lui et faillit couper sa retraite sur le gros de l'armée qu'il ne parvint a rejoindre qu'avec les plus grandes difficultés. Toute la cavalérie ennemie se mit alors en mouvement et se jetant avec impétuosité sur la brigade, l'attaqua sur tous les côtés à la fois. Elle eût été infalliblement exterminée sans la presence d'esprit de son chef. M. de Boigne, s'étant aperçu de l'erreur commise par son aile droit et prévoyant les suites qu'elle pouvait entraîner, avait disposé sur le

[15] *Sic.* The actual date was Sep. 12.

champ son infantérie en carré vide: et par cette disposition, presentant partout un front à l'ennemi elle opposa une resistance invincible aux charges furieuses des Rahtores qui furent enfin forcés de lâcher prise. Aussitôt l'infanterie réprit ses positions et s'avançant avec son artillerie elle fit une attaque générale sur toute la ligne des Rajepoutes. Déjà sur les neuf heures l'ennemi etait complètement battu. Une heure après les Marhattes prirent possession de son camp avec tous ses canons et bagages: et pour couronner cette journée, à trois heures après midi, la ville de Mirtan fut prise d'assaut.

When Tod "passed two delightful days" with the conqueror of Merta "in his native vale of Chambéry" about the year 1826, he endeavoured to persuade the veteran to talk of his great achievement. "The remembrance of past days flitted before him; as he said 'all appeared in a dream'."

The immediate result of Patan and Merta was the formation of a second brigade in 1791 and a third in 1793. Madhoji feeling, with de Boigne at Koil near Aligarh, that his hold upon Hindustan was secure, proceeded to Poona in the summer of 1793. His departure gave the signal to Tukoji Rao Holkar, his partner in the province of Malwa, who had been watching the growth of de Boigne's battalions with undisguised jealousy. Gopal Rao Bhao Madhoji's lieutenant in Hindustan, was compelled to take the field: and a battle ensued in the pass of Lakhairi in September 1793. Once more de Boigne turned a doubtful issue into a complete victory: and Holkar's four disciplined battalions, which were commanded by Dudrenec, were practically annihilated. Madhoji Sindhia was now the sole master of the Mahratta acquisitions in Hindustan: but early in 1794 he was attacked by violent fever at Wanowlie, near Poona, and died on February 12, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

De Boigne remained faithful to his nephew and successor, Daulat Rao, but his health was beginning to fail. The battle of Kardla on March 11, 1795, in which the Peshwa's forces defeated Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad was the last in which his brigades engaged during the period of his command. He was not himself present, and the men were led by Perron. Eighteen years of continued residence in India had shattered his constitution, and he applied for permission to depart. Daulat Rao at first refused his consent but ultimately agreed. De Boigne's parting admonition to him was to avoid all quarrel with the English and to disband his battalions rather than to risk a war with them.

On Christmas day, 1795, de Boigne left Koil under escort of his bodyguard[16] and made his way to Lucknow. Here he arranged his affairs and placed them in charge of Claude Martin. Proceeding thence to Calcutta, he was honourably

[16] "He was attended by 610 cavalry, 4 elephants, 150 camels and many bullock-wagons laden with his effects. His cavalry cut a good appearance, being dressed in a uniform of green jackets with red turbans, the folds of which were intermixed with silver wire."

received by the Governor General who took over the troopers of his bodyguard with their horses and equipment. In September 1796, he sailed in the ship Cromberg and reached England early in the year 1797. For some time he lived near London and it was then (as already mentioned) that he married his young wife.

The story has been told, upon the authority mainly of a statement made by Lord Wellesley in a letter of[17] July 8, 1803, to Lord Lake, that de Boigne removed to Paris in 1802 and became "the chief confidant of Bonaparte" in his designs against the English power in India. No corroboration of this statement can be found in the records: and the grandson of de Boigne has declared explicitly that he was in Savoy, and not in Paris, in 1802, and that during the whole of the First Empire he led an absolutely secluded life. There appears to be no doubt that he distrusted the solidity of Napoleon's power and held aloof deliberately from his Court.

The command of de Boigne's "Invincible Army" devolved upon Pierre Cuiller, or Perron, a French adventurer who was born in 1755 at Chateau du Loire in the department of the Sarthe, and had found his way to India on board the fleet of the Bailli de Suffren. The force consisted of 24,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 120 guns, besides garrison troops and irregulars. For a time Perron was supreme. His capture of the fort and citadel of Agra in the spring of 1799 earned him the complete confidence of Daulat Rao Sindhia who invested him with the full and uncontrolled government of all his possessions from the Chambal to Patiala. He was authorized to raise armies and retain or discharge troops, and not even de Boigne, we are told, enjoyed such a measure of absolute power. But Daulat Rao lacked the genius of his uncle Madhoji and Perron (in the words of de Boigne), although a brave soldier possessed no talent. The war with the British, against which de Boigne had warned his master, broke out in August 1803. Perron exhorted Daulat Rao to fight to the last, but did not draw his sword from its scabbard. In ten days from Lake's arrival before Aligarh his power was dissolved and he himself was a fugitive in the British camp.

The campaign continued under Louis Bourquien a worthless fellow who had once been a cook: but the end came swiftly. The battle of Laswari on November 1, 1803, completed the destruction of Perron's battalions—of the thirty-one in Hindustan proper twelve were defeated at Delhi, on September 11, seven at Agra on October 10, and the remaining twelve at Laswari. The eight battalions which were on service in the Deccan were destroyed by Wellesley at Assaye: and at the end of twelve weeks after the declaration of the war the "Invincible Army" had ceased to exist. Perron spent some time at Chinsurah in the house now occupied by the Hooghly College, and embarked for Hamburg in 1805. He proceeded to Paris but was coldly received by

[17] "M de Boigne (Sindhia's late General) is now the chief confidant of Bonaparte. He is constantly at St. Cloud. I leave you to judge why and wherefore."

Napoleon, and withdrew to the chateau which he purchased at Fresnes near Montoire in the department of Loire et Cher, where he died in 1834, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Unlike de Boigne, whose memory is held in high honour in his native town, he rests forgotten in an unmarked grave. It was typical of him that he used to boast that he had compelled de Boigne to leave Sindhia's service: and typical of de Boigne that he disdained to reply to the allegation.

Had the genius which formed the battalions of de Boigne remained with them they would never have been destroyed (says L. F. Smith, who had been a major in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia and was writing of what he knew). "De Boigne's policy was too sagacious to have attracted the attention or raised the jealousy of the British Government. He gave no preference in his conduct of European officers to one nation or another[18]. Perron from the moment he got firmly seated in de Boigne's seat shewed a marked and unjust partiality to the French, and only kept the English officers to conceal his views and plans from the British Government . . . His army was a minute miniature of the French revolution: wretches were raised from cooks, bakers and barbers to majors and colonels, absurdly entrusted with the command of brigades and showed into paths to acquire lacks."

De Boigne's first and second brigades were raised in 1790 and the third in 1793. In 1801 Perron formed the fourth and in 1803 the fifth. Each brigade when completed consisted of six thousand men, and cost, in Hindustan proper, Rs. 56,000 a month. When serving in the Deccan the monthly charge amounted to Rs. 84,000, as all Sindhia's troops on crossing the Nerbudda (and latterly the Chambal) received additional pay at the rate of eight annas on every rupee. To each brigade were attached three battering rams, ten howitzers, two mortars and thirty-six field pieces. There were also 200 regular horsemen and 500 Rohilla irregulars. The battalions, according to the old French custom, bore the names of cities and forts, such as Delhi, Agra and Burhanpur. The disciplined sepoys[19] were composed mainly of Hindus from Oudh and were drilled according to the English exercise of 1780. The *nujeebs*, or matchlockmen, were drilled in nearly the same way, but, says Lewis Ferdinand Smith, their words of command were delivered in Irish!!

Twining who visited de Boigne at Coel in December 1794, was struck by his tall upright figure and his martial deportment. "A polite gracious relaxation of a certain air of military austerity" was apparent which was "not less prepossessing than ease more habitual." He described to his guest

[18] De Boigne's second-in-command was Fremont, a Frenchman. Of the other officers we know of Hessing, a Dutchman, Perron, Baours, Pedron, and Rohan, who were Frenchmen, and Robert Sutherland and Roberts, who were British subjects. Sangster, who had been in the service of the Rana of Gohad was superintendent of his cannon foundry.

[19] These were known as Telinganas from the fact that the Sepoys who accompanied Clive to Bengal were recruited in the Telugu country.

the obstacles he had encountered—"the prejudices to overcome, the innate distrust of an Indian prince to remove, the dangerous jealousy of rivals to counteract"—and now he had surmounted them all.

> The result was that young de Boigne—for he was only about thirty five years of age—aided by the resources of a mind singularly formed for such a situation, active, enterprising, penetrating, judicious, gradually made his way through all the difficulties that surrounded him: and converted the first alarm of the Hindoo prince into confidence, his oppression into acts of favour and kindness, his hostility into unbounded friendship; till at length from being a prisoner in his hands, he rose to be the defender of his country and the victorious leader of his armies.[20]

"Longinus," writing in 1797, discusses the character of de Boigne in considerable detail; and his account of the strenuous life led by him at the height of his career is particularly interesting:

> De Boigne is favoured by Nature and education to guide and command: his school acquirements are much above mediocrity. He is a tolerable Latin scholar and reads, writes, and speaks French, Italian and English with fluency. He is not deficient in a general acquaintance with books and possesses great knowledge of the world: he is extremely polite, affable, pleasant, humorous and vivacious: elegant in his manners, resolute in his determinations and firm in his measures; remarkably well versed in the mechanism of the human mind and has perfect command over himself: to the political subtilty of the Italian school he has added consummate Oriental intrigue: made his approaches to power in disguise and only shewed himself when too strong to be resisted. On the grand stage where he had acted a brilliant and important part for these ten years, he is dreaded and idolised, feared and admired, respected and beloved. Latterly the very name of de Boigne conveyed more terrors than the thunders of his cannon . . . His justice was uncommon and singularly well proportioned between severity and relaxation; he possessed the happy art of gaining the confidence of surrounding princes and governed subjects: active and persevering to a degree which can only be conceived or believed by those who were spectators of his indefatigable labours. I have seen him daily and monthly rise

[20] De Boigne gave Twining a letter of introduction to Thomas Longcroft, who was carrying on the business of an indigo planter at Jellowlee. Longcroft came out to India with Zoffany about 1783 and was one of the party (including Zoffany) who joined the tiger hunt near Chinsurah in 1784 which was described by Sir John Day (Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 491) and which forms the subject of a picture by Zoffany. There is a coloured copy of the engraving by Earlom in the Victoria Memorial Hall, together with the key plate. It was presented by Her Majesty, Queen Mary. Longcroft was also an artist; and specimens of his sketches may be seen at the British Museum, the India Office, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

with the sun, survey his karkhana (arsenal), view his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades, raise resources and encourage manufacturers for their arms, ammunition and stores: harangue in his durbar, give audience to ambassadors, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs of a jaydad of twenty lacks of rupees, listen to a multitude of letters from various parts on various important matters: dictate replies, carry on intricate system of intrigue in different courts, superintend a private trade of lacks of rupees, keep his accounts, his private and public correspondence and direct and move forward a most complex political machine. All this he did without any European assistance for he is very diffident in placing his confidence and extremely cautious in bestowing his trust. He used to say that any ambitious person who reposes confidence in another risks the destruction of his views. Such was his laborious occupation from sunrise till past midnight: and this was not the fortuitous avocation of a day but the unremitting employment of nine or ten years. To this exhausting and unceasing toil he sacrificed one of the finest and most robust constitutions which ever Nature formed to bless mankind. He left his station with accumulated diseases, an extinguished health, and a debilitated frame but with the poor comparative recompense of uncommon fame and a splendid fortune of 400,000£!

Of his personal appearance "Longinus" gives the following description:

In his person de Boigne is above six feet high, giant boned, large limbs, strong featured and piercing eyes. There is something in his countenance which depicts the hero and compels us to yield obedience. In his deportment he was commanding, and he trod like Ajax with the majestic step of conscious greatness . . . He raised the rising power of Mhadojee Scindea to a height which Scindea could never expect or seriously hope: he fixed and consolidated that power and established it on the firm basis of a powerful well disciplined and well paid army. He was religiously faithful to his master and amidst the most enticing offers to betray he preserved his allegiance unsullied, and his merit in resisting the charms of gold was greater as his avarice was superior . . . There is another singular fact which ought to recommend de Boigne to the claims of the British Government. When he first entered into Mhadojee Scindea's service one of the principal articles of agreement he contracted in writing was "Never to bear arms against the English"[21].

Tod paints a pleasant picture of the old man in his retirement at Chambéry. "Distinguished by his prince, beloved by a numerous and amiable family

[21] He told Twining however that, while he wished to remain on good terms with the East India Company, he was quite prepared to meet them in the field should such a necessity arise!

and honoured by his fellow citizens, the years of the veteran, now numbering more than fourscore, glide in agreeable tranquillity in his native city, which with oriental magnificence he is beautifying by an entire new street and a handsome dwelling for himself."[22] And so resting after his toil, we may leave him.

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## Maratha Family Records of the 17th Century.

(By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A.)

If we leave the Sikhs out of our account, the Marathas were the last of the Indian races to have retained their independence. It is only a little over a century since they lost their position as a sovereign nation. They are also among the most intellectual of the peoples of India. From these facts we may naturally expect that a large mass of historical records in their official language would be found, and to a certain extent the expectation has been realised.

But the Maratha age of Indian history extended over a century and a half, and any general statement about its records is apt to be incorrect. It is necessary to consider its different sub-divisions or periods separately, if we are to have a correct and useful idea of the nature and extent of the records that have been preserved concerning each of them. These periods were—

(*i*) Before the coronation of Shivaji in 1674, *i.e.*, while the Maratha State was yet unborn.

(*ii*) From Shivaji's coronation to the establishment of the Peshwas as the real ruling authority, *i.e.*, the period of the Chhatrapatis, 1674—1730.

(*iii*) The early Peshwas, 1730—1756.

(*iv*) The Marathas as an all-India Power, 1756—1803.

Every piece of writing that has come down to us from the past is not of value to the student of history; many are of a purely private nature and throw only incidental light on social life and manners; many others merely

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[22] Major William Henry Tone, brother of the famous United Irishman, and Commandant of a regiment of Infantry in the Peishwa's service, in his Illustrations of some Institutions of the Mahratta People (originally published in 1799 in the form of a Letter to a Madras Officer) speaks of de Boigne "as a man of first-rate talents as an officer, and consummate knowledge as a politician: indefatigable in his pursuits whether of war or negotiation, whose splendid abilities, displayed upon a noble theatre increased the dominions of Scindeah to double their original extent, and created for himself a princely fortune, by a series of successful and honourable labours." He gives a detailed account of his army, particularly the nujeebs or nezibs, matchlockmen armed with the country musket which they load with great readiness, and to which the ingenuity of de Boigne has added a bayonet.

repeat facts or customs which were known before. What the historian needs is State-papers. This class of documents includes despatches to and from the Government officials, orders and notifications of the State, reports of ambassadors and secret agents, court bulletins, minutes of the proceedings of the Council of ministers, and treaties and charters to communities (as distinct from private individuals). English history has been enriched by the State-papers left behind by ministers like Cecil under Elizabeth, Clarendon under Charles II, Grenville and Chatham under George III, besides others in more modern times. Similarly the reports of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors are of priceless importance to the historian of Tudor England.

But State-papers are utterly wanting for the first half century of the Maratha kingdom, *i.e.*, up to 1710, and are comparatively scanty for the next twenty years. It is only in the fourth or last of the above periods, *i.e.*, from 1756 onwards, that they have survived in an almost overwhelming mass and variety.

No doubt, a very large number of old papers of the time of Shivaji and his sons and grandson,—or of the royal period of Maratha history—have been preserved and printed. But these are merely petty title-deeds, judicial decisions in private disputes, and orders on succession to village headmanships or to the share of the crop due to hereditary village officers in the old Maratha organization of village communities.

These private grants and legal judgments are useless for the construction of a political history of the past. At the best they enable us, occasionally, to fix a historical personage or occurrence exactly in respect of date and place. The student eagerly seeking for contemporary native records of the Shivaji period (and, indeed, of the entire Maratha royal period), is bound to be disappointed as he wades through the volumes of title-deeds and jury-returns (*mahazar*) in the Marathi Language which have been printed by Rajwade and others under the misleading title of "Materials for Maratha History: Houses of Shivaji's times" (*Shiva-Kalin Gharani*).

Happily for us, a new and very valuable source for the political history of this most interesting and least known formative period of the Maratha State has recently come to light. In 1917 the Historical Research Society of Poona published a small work of 31 pages under the title of "The Chronicle of the Jedhe Family" (Jedhe-yanchi *Shakavali*).

One such chronicle, written in Persian and kept by a rich Hindu family of Delhi, was discovered by me and described in my paper on "Delhi during the Anarchy" which was read at our Bombay session (1921). The extant portion of this manuscript covers the sixty years from 1739 to 1798. Similarly, every well-to-do family in the Deccan maintained a book for recording the succession and death of Kings and other events of public importance under their exact dates year by year. This chronological skeleton was supplemented by the addition of details regarding the births, marriages and deaths in that

particular family, the granting of titles and estates to its notable members, their heroic deeds and often their feuds with rival landowners in their neighbourhood.

Thus, all the Marathi chronicles had a common element consisting of public or political news and a special or private section, dealing with the affairs of a particular family, which latter was different in different *Shakavalis.* Students of history are concerned with the public records only, the Kernel, or what I have called the chronological skeleton, in these annals. The private or family entries are, however, not without use when the family produced some makers of Maratha history.

But these chronicles have been usually found in a defective state, in incorrect transcripts and with frequent gaps. This was only to be expected from the decay of our old historical families in the 19th century. Eight such Shakavalis,—often a few leaves without any beginning or end,—have been discovered up till now in Maharashtra. The longer ones among them are—

(*i*) The *Shakavali* of the Jedhe family of *deshmukhs* or landlords, with their headquarters at Kari, in the Bhor sub-division of the Puna district. It covers 31 printed pages and ends with 1697 A. D.

(*ii*) The *Shakavali* of the deshpandes of Shivapur, preserved among the Forbes mss. in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch. It occupies 271 folios, and ends with 1774. The Shivaji portion covers 12 pages in print.

(*iii*) The Shakavali of the Atre family, also called Gadadhar Prahlad's Shakavali, covering the years 1680—1706 only, and occupying four pages in print.

The rest are very small and fragmentary, occupying from half a page to three pages. Those later than 1707 need not be noticed here.

The most valuable of these is the Jedhe chronicle. Its information on some very minute and otherwise unknown points is corroborated in a surprising degree by the English Factory records, which no modern Maratha fabricator could have read. But certain other statements in the same work are proved to be incorrect by the contemporary Persian or English sources or by the conflict between one Shakavali and another, and even by self-contradiction within the same book. Thus, while admitting the great value of the Jedhe Shakavali for the later 17th century in Maharashtra, I have found it unsafe to accept all of its statements blindly. The future historian of Shivaji and his sons is bound to make the fullest use of this book, but only after critically examining every one of its statements in the light of contemporary sources in other languages,—Persian, Portuguese, English and French. Thus alone can historical truth be established on an unassailable basis.

One example of the conflict of statements may be given here: The killing of Afzal Khan, the Bijapuri general, by Shivaji is said to have occurred on three different dates in the three different chronicles that record it, namely:—

(*i*) on Thursday, 10th November 1659 (Margashirsha Shuddha Saptami) according to the *Jedhe Shakavali*,

(*ii*) on 14th November 1659 (Margashirsha Badya Panchami) according to the *Shakavali* printed in Rajwade's 18th volume, p. 46,

(*iii*) on 13th September 1659 (Ashwin Shuddha Saptāmi) according to the *Shakavali* printed in the *Varshik Itibritta* of the Puna Mandal for Shaka year 1836, page 23.

The following tradition of the humble origin of the future capital of the Peshwas and the intellectual centre of modern Maharashtra as given in the *Shirapurkar Shakavali*, will be read with interest:

"In the year 1246 A.D., a faqir Auliya (*i.e.*, a Muslim Saint) arrived near Puna. He restored to life some dead bullocks belonging to a potter of the neighbouring villages of Kumbhari and Kasari, and removed the idols of Puneshwar, Kedar and Narayan, to Purandhar. He built a tomb and took up his residence there.

Barya Arab fortified Chakan and ruled over Puna. He joined the three villages of Puna, Kumbhari, and Kasari together. Barya's descendants continued in possession of Puna till 1478, when the Nizam Shah gained the place."

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## The Private Life of an Eastern King.

(By J. J. Cotton, M.A., I.C.S.)

This book which was first published in 1855 deals with the household and life of Nussir-u-deen, King of Oude, the son of Ghazi-u-deen Hyder who reigned from 1827 to 1837. It purports to be compiled for a Member of the Household of his late Majesty and the preface to the first edition is written by that individual himself, who says that the narrative was compiled from the notes he took of passing events during the three and a half years that he lived in the Court of Lucknow. The actual compiler is Mr. William Knighton who in his preface to the third edition (Chelsea, October 1855) relates that he made the acquaintance of the narrator at a friend's house (at Sydenham) in the autumn of 1854 and thinking the facts strange proposed to him to write a book on the subject. He was by no means unwilling. Chapter after chapter was compiled from his notes and verbal communications, and read out to him as each was finished. The Member of the Household,

however, would not put his name to it; so the work was at first issued anonymously. "The book comes before us", says the Times "without a name but with every other mark of authenticity." The copy in my possession is a new and revised edition, London 1857 with seven illustrations by Mr. Harrison Weir. It is one of the most remarkable revelations ever written of life in a Native Court. "We might imagine it," says the Times, "a page taken out of the Arabian Nights. The wild beast fights are described in considerable detail and with great spirit." A reviewer in the "Press" "knows of no volume more calculated to arrest the attention of the reader. Chapters from the volume read like pages which once delighted the Commander of the Faithful."

The mania for surrounding himself with European adventurers was not confined to Nussir-u-deen Hyder. Lord Valentia mentions it as one of the characteristics of Saadat Ali Khan (1797-1814) the grandfather of our hero, and in many ways an estimable monarch, "that he carried his European predilection too far in abandoning the forms of an Asiatic Court and living with Europeans as an equal." He was followed by his son Ghazi-u-deen Hyder (1814-1827) who five years after his accession was transformed from the seventh and last Nawaub into the first King of Oude by Lord Hastings, and incidentally gave his name to the King of Oude's sauce, once advertised in every shop window of London. His son Nussir-u-deen is described as follows by Captain afterwards General G. C. Mundy who visited his Court on December 11th, 1827, when Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief Lord Cambermere: "The King is a plain vulgar looking man of about 26 years of age, his stature about 5 feet 9 inches and his complexion rather unusually dark. His Majesty's mental endowments, pursuits, and amusements are by no means of an elevated or dignified order although his deficiencies are in some measure supplied by the abilities and shrewdness of his Minister, who is however an unexampled rogue and detested by all ranks with the exception of his Royal Master who reposes the most perfect confidence in him." As Mundy does not specially mention his European entourage except a Piemontese conjurer in the pay of the Nawab who entertained us much by his ingenious tricks, it is possible that the King began to surround himself after this period with his rabble of boon companions.

They were five in number and on page 13 the favoured five are designated by the Member of the Household as; his tutor; his librarian; his German painter and musician; the captain of his body-guard; and last but by no means least his barber. Of these five, writes Knighton's informant, I was one. It has not been easy to identify the originals of this Panchayat. For years I was unable to trace who they were except the barber. It was only recently that I found their names in the ninth edition of the Tourist's Guide to Lucknow by Mr. Edward Hilton whose name must be familiar to every visitor to the Residency which he helped to defend as a boy of the Martinière.



Nussir-u-deen Hyder.

The old man told me himself in June 1920 that he got these names from a person called Johnson now dead. The barber was De Russet; the tutor Wright; the painter and musician Muntz; the librarian Cropley and the commandant Captain R. J. H. Magness, who died at Lucknow 18th December 1856 and whose widow Mary Anne was killed at Lucknow by rebels in June 1857, and to whose joint memory stands the earliest tablet in Christ Church, Lucknow.

The account of the barber deserves to be quoted in full. "He was the greatest man of the five and his influence far greater than that of the native prime minister or Nawaub. His history truly and honestly written would form one of the oddest chapters of human life. All that a Member knows of him is this. He had come out to Calcutta as cabin boy in a ship. Having been brought up as a hair dresser in London he left his ship on arriving in the Hughly to resume his old business. He was successful; he pushed and puffed himself into notoriety. At length he took to going up the river with European merchandise and became in fact what is called there a river trader. Arrived at Lucknow he found a Resident,—not the same who was there when I entered the King's service—anxious to have the ringlets of his wig restored to their pristine crispness and brilliancy; and the river-trader was not above resuming his old business. Marvellous was the alteration he made in the Resident's appearance and so the great Saheb himself introduced the wonder-working barber to the King. That Resident is in England now and writes M. P. after his name." Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts who had been Resident from 1823 to 1830, was succeeded in 1830-31 by Thomas Herbert Maddock who went out as a writer in 1814 and retired in 1849, a knight and a C. B. He was M. P. for Rochester 1852-7 and died January 15th, 1870 in his eightieth year.

"The King had peculiarly lank, straight hair; not the most innocent approach to a curl had ever been seen on it. The barber wrought wonders again, and the King was delighted. Honours and wealth were showered upon the lucky coiffeur. He was given a title of nobility. Sofraz Khan (the Illustrious Chief) was his new name, and men bowed to him in Oude. The whilom cabin-boy was a man of power now, and wealth was rapidly flowing in upon him. The king's favourite soon becomes wealthy in a native state. The barber, however, had other sources of profit open to him besides bribery; he supplied all the wine and beer used at the King's table. Every European article required at Court came through his hands and the rupees accumulated in thousands. Nussir put no bounds to the honours he heaped upon the fascinating barber; unlimited confidence was placed in him. By small degrees he had at last become a regular guest at the royal table, and sat down to take dinner with the King as a thing of right; nor would His Majesty taste a bottle of wine opened by any other hands than the barber's. So afraid was His Majesty of being poisoned by his own family, that every bottle of wine was sealed in the barber's house before being brought to the King's table; and

before he opened it, the little man looked carefully at the seal to see that it was all right. He then opened it, and took a portion of a glass first, before filling one for the King. Such was the etiquette at the royal table when I first took my place at it." The copy of the book in the Public Library, Lucknow, contains the following note in pencil at the foot of page 15. "Above Barber's story is exactly that of the Jeypore Estate, Rajputana, in 1921 or a few years before, A." Who "Mr. A" is I know not: but I hope to communicate with the Jeypore Durbar and trace the parallel farther.

"The confidence reposed in the favourite was, of course, soon generally known over India, or at all events in Bengal. "The low menial" as the Calcutta Review called him (Vol. III, article, Kingdom of Oude) was the subject of squibs, pasquinades, attacks, and satirical verses without number; and marvellously little did the low menial care what they said of him, as long as he accumulated rupees. They had the wit and the satire, and he had the money; so far, he was content. Of the newspapers the most incessant in its attacks was the Agra Uckbar, a paper since defunct. Shortly before I left Lucknow, the barber employed a European clerk in the Resident's office to answer the attacks of the Uckbar in one of the Calcutta papers with which he corresponded; and for this service the clerk was paid a hundred Rs. (10£) a month. So that, if the barber had not his own poet like the tailors in London, he had, at all events, his Own Correspondent, like the Times."

This admirable account closes the first chapter of The Private Life which is entitled My Introduction to Royalty. Chapter II deals with the amusements of a King and starts with a description of a dinner party at 9 P.M., the usual dinner hour in the Palace. The King made his appearance leaning on the arm of the barber, being much the taller of the two, the favourite making up in breadth what he wanted in height. The King is described as a gentlemanly looking man, not without a certain kingly grace; his air and figure a complete contrast to that of his companion, on which nature had indelibly stamped the characteristics of vulgarity. Both were dressed similarly; and the contrast they presented was made all the more striking by the outward habiliments in which they resembled each other. The cookery was excellent; for a Frenchman presided in the royal kitchen, a cook that had formerly been chef-de-cuisine in the Bengal Club at Calcutta. But neither the French cook nor the Irish coachman were allowed any liberty out of their respective stations; while the English barber was all in all. It appears from this that His Majesty had dismissed the Jehu of his predecessor of whom Captain Mundy records: "On my way there I saw His Majesty's equipage à l'anglaise waiting at one of the entrances. It was a kind of Lord Mayor's coach, with eight long tailed horses in hand. The coachman, a fierce looking Mussulman, with a curling beard and mustachios, cut rather a strange figure in a livery of the latest London fashion."

The account of the other associates of His Majesty's dissipation is not so detailed as the history of the barber. It is clear that the narrator was not the tutor, for he mentions on page 32 that he profited by the silent lesson he received while witnessing the King's game at draughts with the tutor at which he found that royalty must not be beaten. A Member speaks of himself as visiting Oude in the ordinary routine of mercantile life and not as an adventurer. He was not presented by the Resident but through a friend at Court; and had got a hint that there was an office in the king's Household vacant and that if he met His Majesty and offered the usual present, he might be accepted and appointed to it. I am inclined to think he was Cropley, the librarian; for although the Life contains no reference to books (except Charles O'Malley and the Arabian Nights) or libraries, the narrative is evidently that of an educated man who had travelled and could express himself in English with ease and often with raciness. There are references to Russia, to Paris and the gardens of Versailles, to Roman Catholic Cathedrals on the Continent, and to the custom of the Court of Berlin to have a boar hunt at Grunewald on St. Hubert's Day, the 3rd of November, so that it sometimes might be thought that the author was Muntz, who is obviously the one of the party described on page 76 as formerly an officer of dragoons in the Austrian service, and still bearing a warlike aspect from his huge moustaches. But there are too many references to London and its scenes, its shop-windows and its drawing rooms for the narrator to have been a foreigner and he expressly mentions on page 3 that he had never been in either Moscow or Dresden. Nor was it Captain Magness for on page 153 and other places he speaks of the Captain of the Body-guard meeting them and telling them of various occurrences. Chapter XIII and last details the circumstances which led to his departure from Lucknow. It was very perceptible, he says, that the hero of the curling tongs was in fact the real ruler of the Palace and his participation with the King in a disgraceful scene at which he made drunk and stripped naked the King's uncles, Saadut and Asoph, so disgusted a Member and the companion who had introduced him into Nussir's service that they protested and refused to sit down again at table if the barber was there. The companion is described as being the most influential European at Court, the barber always excepted. The Captain is spoken of as trying to act as peace-maker, so that I believe the two to have been the tutor and librarian. They were both dismissed from the service, removed themselves to Constantia, took refuge under the protection of the Resident and were speedily on their way to Calcutta.

On their departure the barber ruled with more despotic sway than ever. "All decency and propriety," says the Calcutta Review, "were banished from the Court. Such was more than once the King's conduct at this period that Colonel Low, the Resident, refused to receive him or to transact business with his minions." The favourite brought out his brother from England and a European chief butler was added to the Court with the official title of

Darogha of the Kitchen. The other two European members of the household became mere nonentities in the Palace and these three were the sole possessors of power and influence. At length things came to a climax. The Resident's complaints reached the ears of the King who said to his barber one day in a fit of anger, "You have driven away the only good counsellors I had and now you think you can do what you like with me—you and your brother. But you will find yourselves mistaken and that before long. The Resident is quite right. You are the evil genius that has made the Palace what it is."

The barber became alarmed at this and fled precipitately one night to Cawnpore where he was within the Company's territories and safe from the King's anger. When Nussir-u-deen heard of his flight he sent officers to his house, confiscated all his property and imprisoned his brother and son who would probably have been executed had it not been for the Resident. As it was they remained in durance vile for ten days until the King and his prime minister had made an end of confiscation. The property seized by them which nominally belonged to the barber is stated to have been worth a lakh of rupees.

The barber lost no time in proceeding to Calcutta and thence to England as soon as he was joined by his relatives. The fortune which he carried away with him cannot be accurately estimated; but it is said to have been not less than twenty four lakhs of rupees (£240,000). Arrived in England he speculated largely and for a time successfully. He was a merchant, a partner in a distillery, a stock-jobber. The Railway mania gave the first check to his prosperity. He lost largely by speculations at that time. The distillery was the cause of still further losses; and in 1854 he went through the Insolvent Court. His name however is still (1857) in the London Directory with "Esq., merchant" after it and he resides in one of the neatest and most fashionable of suburban retreats.

On one of the fourteen tablets to the victims of the Nana's Massacre in All Saints Memorial Church, Cawnpore, the names are found of Mr. De Russett, wife and children. He was a merchant at Cawnpore and either the brother or the son of the barber. Mr. Hilton believes him to have been the son. Researches in the India Register elicit the following details. A. G. W. Derusett appears from 1830 to 1835 as a hair-dresser and from 1833 onwards his address is given as Calcutta. A. G. M. Derussett appears in 1836 at Lucknow and continues till May 1837. The bolt to Calcutta was apparently in March of that year and the Literary Gazette for September 29, 1855 in noticing the life of An Eastern King gives a different account of the barber's flight. But Knighton in a note to page 278 of his last edition states that the account which he gives is from one who was in Lucknow at the time, and he has no doubt of his accuracy. The India Register names yet another W. H. Derussett from 1832 to 1836. In the first year he is described as an indigo planter and from 1833 to 35 at Serhampore (sic.). In 1836 his address



Dhania Mahri.

is Lucknow. In the 1837 list he is absent. It emerges from all this that G. W. and G. M. are the same person and that W. H. was the brother.

As for Nussir-u-deen Hyder, the Refuge and Asylum of the World, his sending away of the barber was the signing of his own death warrant. His family gradually introduced their own servants into the Palace; and four months after the favourite's flight the King was poisoned on the night of the 7th July 1837. One of the uncles whom he had treated so badly, a cripple, succeeded him on the throne and a son of that uncle, says Knighton, is the present king.

The poisoning is said to have taken place in the underground rooms of the Lesser Chota Munzil in a building called Gulistan-i-Eram or the Heavenly Garden. Two females, sisters of the King's prime favourite Daljit, from whose hands alone he would receive any drink are generally supposed to have poisoned him at the instigation of the Minister, Roshanu-d-daulah, Nussir having called a short time before his death for some sherbet which was given him by the elder, Dhania Mahri. He was buried in Kerbela, to the south east of the Imambara, or Tomb of Malka Afak, wife of Muhammad Ali Shah, situated in Iradat Nagar, north of the Goomtee and approached by the road leading over the Iron Bridge. This bridge was brought from England by order of King Ghazi-u-deen who died before it arrived. Nussir-u-deen ordered it to be put up in front of the Residency and gave the contract to a Mr. Sinclair who failed. The erection was thus delayed till the reign of the next King.

In the year 1918 I instituted a correspondence in the Pioneer to try and find out the names of the boon companions of the Eastern King, and my queries elicited certain answers. Mr. W. C. C. Francis of Ballia, United Provinces spoke to hearing the following names as being about the King's person from his grandparents who were in Lucknow at that time. Catania; Aspa; Baldwin; Cornelius; Bruvette or Brouet; Bailey; Manuel; Murray; Farrel; Nowdon. The only name out of these which I have been able to trace is Catania. Three individuals of that name, G., Thomas junior, and John are described as being in the service of the King of Oude at Lucknow in the India Register from 1832 to 1835 January. They are not in the List for May 1835. Thomas Catania senior was a professor of music in Calcutta and they may have been members of the Band. Low Valentia mentions that in 1803 "a band of music (which the Nawaub Saadut-Ali Khan had purchased from Colonel Morris) played English tunes the whole time." A Mrs. and Mr. Catania, Inspector of Post Offices, were killed in the Mutiny and are commemorated both on the Monuments in the Fatehgarh Churchyard and in All Saints Cawnpore. They with others came by boat from Fatehgarh to Cawnpore only to be murdered there by the Nana and had a child with them who is mentioned in the thirteenth Cawnpore tablet which commemorates the Fatehgarh fugitives. An earlier Cawnpore inscription in the Cutcherry Cemetery reads:

"To the Memory of Cornelia Rosalinda the beloved wife of T. Catania, Esq., Junr. who departed this life on the 8th March 1844 Aged 25 years and 8 days."

The miniature painter is Mr. C. Muntz or Munz, who is described on page 76 as our guardian dragoon and formerly in the Austrian army. The 1832 List shows an E. Cropley, an indigo planter at Jessore. Of Wrights, there are five in 1830 and two more in 1832 but nothing to show that any one of them was at Lucknow.

Time would fail me to tell of the other interesting titbits to be found in the book. The fight between the man-eating horse and the tiger Burrhea is admirably told in Chapter VII and an illustration on page 112 depicts the fire-eater prostrate before the man-eater with the King in his invariable tall hat looking on. The monarch's colloquies with his tutor are well hit off on page 13. "On the first evening of my arrival at the Palace the King held one of his private dinners. Five European members of his household usually attended these. One was nominally the King's tutor, employed to teach him English. The King valorously resolved over and over again to give up an hour a day to study; for he was anxious to speak English fluently. As it was he was often obliged to eke out his sentences with a Hindustani word. I have seen His Majesty sit down by the tutor, some books on the table before them. "Now, master" (he always called his tutor master), "Now, master, we will begin in earnest." The tutor would read a passage from the Spectator or from some popular novel and the King would read it after him. The tutor would read again. "Boppery Bopp, but this is dry work!", would His Majesty exclaim stretching himself, when it came to his turn to read once more, "let us have a glass of wine, master." The glass of wine led to conversation, the books were pushed away, and so the lesson ended. Such lessons seldom occupied more than ten minutes. The tutor got about fifteen hundred pounds a year for giving them."

It is a heart-rending comment on this story to be told that the King only knew about a dozen words of English and the tutor about the same number of Urdu words and that any prolonged conversation between them was impossible.

Mr. J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., writes as follows on page 180 of his "Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny" (Swan Sonnenschein, 1910), a book which bears on its title page an apt quotation from Pindar. "One morning Joseph brought a gentleman whom he said he wished to introduce to me, and a ginger-whiskered Englishman past middle age, of moderate stature, walked in, whom I discovered to be the celebrated Mr. De Russet, celebrated, at least, to those who have read "The Private Life of an Eastern King." For he was the very barber, to whose skill the elaborate locks of Nussir-u-deen Hyder bear testimony in the effigies of him to be seen in the Moosa Bagh at Lucknow. In later interviews, he declared that the book was a pure romance; but he

was too interested a party to be received as an impartial critic. One thing he stoutly denied, which I thought not unlikely, namely that the conversations between the King and the librarian were purely imaginary; in proof of which, he urged that the King knew only two or three words of English, whilst the librarian was equally ignorant of Hindoostanee. All traces of fast life had disappeared, if they ever existed, from the appearance of Mr. De Russet, and he bore every aspect of a quiet, well-to-do tradesman."

Apparently the person killed at Cawnpore was the barber's brother, whom that factotum once hoped might succeed him as hair dresser and park ranger and not the great little man himself. If the victim had been his son, he could hardly have failed to tell Sherer or Sherer to forget it. The librarian Cropley, if author of the book, went to Lucknow from Calcutta on business and The Private Life opens with the words: "It is now more than twenty years since business first took me to Lucknow"; and as he talks of Calcutta and all that he had heard there of the peculiar features of Lucknow and its Court, and the King's fondness for Europeans not in the Company's Service, it is impossible to believe that he was so ignorant of Hindustani when he solicited employment in the royal house.

Mr. Knighton wrote several other books: a History of Ceylon derived from native chronicles, 1845; Forest Life in Ceylon (2nd edition 1854) in two volumes; Tropical Sketches or Reminiscences of an Indian Journalist, 1855, and a novel; but it may be doubted whether he ever produced anything so good as the Life of an Eastern King. It is only to be compared to Elihu Jan's story or the Private Life of an Eastern Queen published from his pen by Longmans Green & Co. in 1865. In Mr. Crooke's Introduction to Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's Observation on the Musulmauns of India, (Oxford University Press 1917) it is written: "The cause of her final departure from India is a highly coloured sketch of Court Life in the days of King Nasir-ud-daula, the Private Life of an Eastern King, published in 1855. It is worthy of remark that she carefully avoids any reference (in her Observations) to the Palace intrigues and maladministration which prevailed in Oude during the reigns of Ghazi and Nussur-u-deen Hyder who occupied the throne during her residence in Lucknow."

The last avatar of the royal barber or rather of his descendant as a monkey fakir is described by Mr. E. J. Buck at page 190 of his Simla Past and Present (1904):

"Some thirty years ago a Mr. De Russet, a contractor and architect, lived in Simla, and his son became a student at the Bishop Cotton School and a member of the Volunteer Corps. The boy, however, suddenly declared himself an apostate from Christianity, and joined the fakir as a disciple at the shrine on Jakko. Here he underwent a severe novitiate and for two years he remained under a tree with the sole company of the monkeys, and the attendant who brought him food. Eventually he was admitted into the

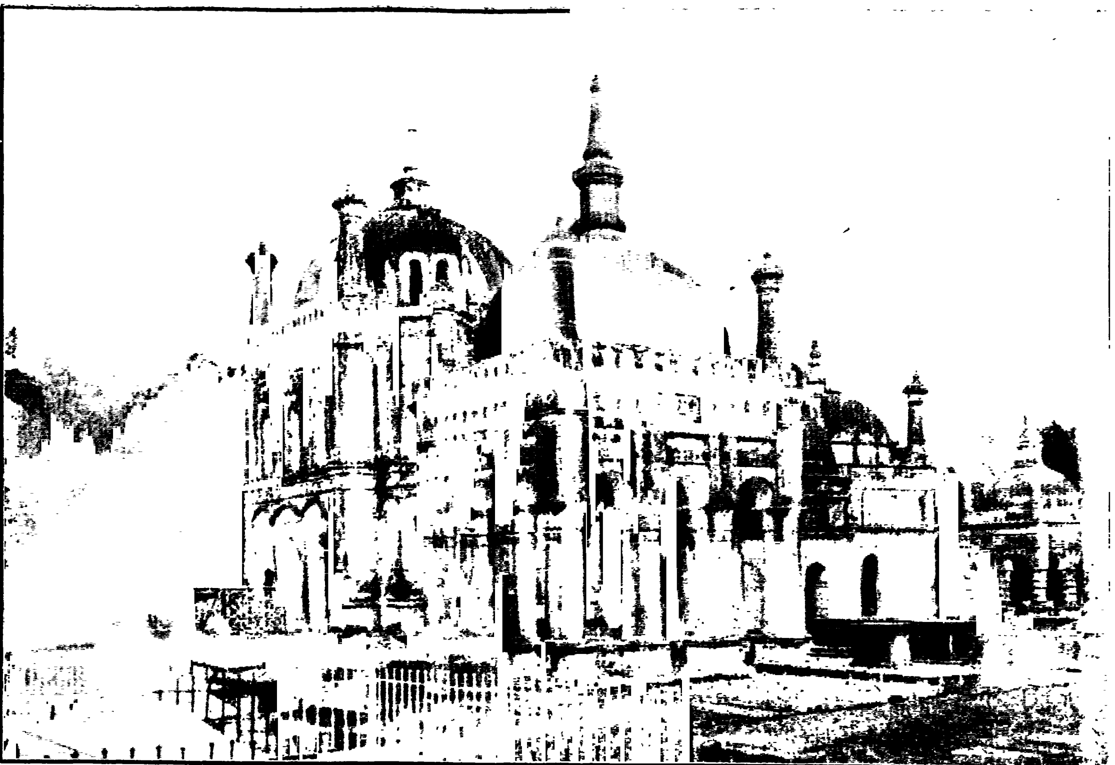
priesthood, and for some years, from his head-dress of a leopard skin, he was known in Simla as the 'leopard fakir.' He was recently often seen in the station, but has now retired to the seclusion of a temple some distance below Annandale, avoids recognition, shuns Europeans, and appears to have forgotten his mother tongue.

"Mr. John C. Oman, formerly professor of natural science at the Government College, Lahore, in his work on the 'Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India' (1894), reproduced a photograph of 'the leopard fakir or 'sadhu' and wrote of him as follows. 'Some years ago at Simla I interviewed one Charles de Russeth, a young man of French descent, who although brought up as a Christian, and properly educated in Bishop Cotton's School in that time, had while a mere boy embraced the life of a 'sadhu.' Of his fellow 'sadhus' he spoke in terms of high praise, and assured me that he had seen 'jogi' adepts perform many most wonderful acts. I have no doubt he commands the highest respect from the natives, and lives idle, happy and contented, without any anxiety about the morrow."

The following extract from an article on Oude in Blackwood's Magazine for May 1858 is a fitting tail-piece to this article:

"The queerest piece of royalty ever manufactured in India itself and by the great firm of King-makers in Leadenhallstreet, whom rival politicians are now trying to "sell up" was Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder's son and successor Nussur, also a "defender of the faith": but who prided himself on nothing so much as his attachment to the English. This sentiment was indulged, not by cultivating our notions of justice and liberty or even by courting the advice of our Resident, but by adopting the English garb, chimney-pot topee included, surrounding himself with English adventurers of the lowest class for his private companions, and dining in the English fashion of the day when boon companions deemed it *de rigueur* to terminate the entertainment beneath the table.

A curious picture of these revels where the master was an English barber, is given in a little book entitled "Private Life of an Eastern King" by a member of his household. The details find ample corroboration in the recent valuable publication of Sir William Sleeman's "Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849-50." The story of "The General" for instance, of which the member of the household declares himself an eye-witness, incredible as it might be deemed without authority, is plainly to be recognised in Sir William Sleeman's history of Rajah Ghalib Jung. This individual had been raised by Ghazee-ud-deen from a very humble grade to high station from which he was again degraded, plundered, and reduced to death's door by harsh treatment and want of food. After the accession of Nussur he contrived to crawl back again to Court, and insinuating himself into the King's private debaucheries, became useful to him in ways to which his English jolly friends could not stoop. He stood accordingly high in His



The English Cemetery, Surat, from the South East.

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Oxford University Press, Bombay.)

Majesty's favour, receiving the command of the police and a brigade of infantry, and was commonly known in the household as "The General." Of course he enriched himself: of course also he was hated by the prime minister who was the constant butt of his ridicule with the merry monarch. The hour of the General's disgrace came, however, with this king as well as with his father. He was secretly accused to his majesty of rivalling him in his amours: but as this was a point on which an oriental dreads publicity, the incensed monarch "bided his time" for some plausible ground of punishment. There is little difference in the *causa belli* as related by our eye-witness and by Sir W. Sleeman who had the story from native authority some years after and says it occurred on the 7th of October 1835. The member of the household says His Majesty was twirling his own European hat on his royal thumb when the latter went through the top and the "General" thinking to be witty, exclaimed "there is a hole in your Majesty's crown." The royal countenance darkened, he declared the pun to be treason, and adjudged the offender to death. He was thrust into prison and with three of his followers put in chains and twice flogged. After the first flogging the King got drunk and before many persons ordered the minister to have Ghalib's right hand and nose cut off forthwith: but this was remitted from dread of the Resident. The females of his family were at first made prisoners in their own house and later on ordered to be brought on foot to the palace by force, when Nussur publicly declared that they should all on the next day have their hair shaved off, be stripped naked and in that state turned out into the street. The Resident interposed; but the "General" was not let off. He was handed over for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees to Rajah Dursun Sing, the great revenue contractor whom he had often thwarted when in power. By him he was put into an iron cage and sent to his fort at Shah-gunge where, report says, he had snakes and scorpions placed in the cage to torment and destroy him. But Ghalib survived and after Nussur's death got out of confinement by payment of a large bribe, was again restored to office and eventually died in honour at the age of 80. He was a consummate villain and richly deserved hanging."

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## European Tombs and Graveyards of the 17th Century in Western India.

(By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S.)

At a meeting of the Commission held in Poona, January 1925, a resolution was passed that the Government of Bombay should be requested to print selected inscriptions from the graveyards of the European settlements prior to 1800. Owing to financial stringency, the matter has not yet been taken

up. I have been asked to undertake a preliminary examination of the materials, and I beg to lay before the Commission a few notes which may indicate the interest and historical importance of the subject. As space and time are limited, I have decided to limit my observations mainly to the 17th century.

The earliest English tombstone in India is not in the Bombay Presidency. It covers the remains of that picturesque rascal, John Mildenhall, of whom Purchas writes so divertingly.[1] It is in the Agra Cemetery, and bears the simple inscription

IOA DE MENDENAL.

MOREO AOS.

1-E. JUNHOU 1614[2].

Mildenhall, however, was only a pioneer. The real history of the British in India begins with the landing of William Hawkins at Surat, August 28th, 1608. From 1613 to 1687, the Surat Factory was the headquarters of the East India Company and its President the chief of all the factors in the East. Hence, as we should expect, the graveyard at Surat is the most remarkable of all the European cemeteries in Western India, and contains monuments which, if not exactly beautiful, are of unique historical interest and importance. Vast mausoleums were then in fashion among the Mahomedans. Doubtless the European Factors wished to emulate them, and the devices of western heraldry contrast quaintly with their semi-Saracenic architecture. Our ancestors, however, admired immensely these portentous masses of solid masonry. Padre Ovington, who was in Surat from 1689 to 1693, speaks of them as "magnificent structures . . . . . . whose large Extent, beautiful Architecture, and Aspiring Heads make them visible at a remote distance, lovely Objects of the sight, and give them the Title of the Principal Ornaments and Magnificencies about the City".[3] They are also described enthusiastically by the French traveller, Jean de Thevenot, who visited Surat in 1666.[4]

James Forbes, writing almost exactly a century later, speaks of them as "handsome tombs, with domes and pillars in the style of the Mahomedan mausoleums; which, interspersed among shady trees, give these cemeteries a grand and solemn appearance."[5] The first of the tombs is the graceful pile which covers the remains of President Francis Breton, who, having controlled the destinies of the English Factory for five years, "Coelebs hinc migravit ad nuptias coelestes, anno Christi MDCXLIX, die XXI mensis July." Another tomb is that of President Bartholemew Harris, who held office from

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[1] *Pilgrims*. I. 3, Chap. 1, § 3.
[2] Blunt, *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces* (1906).
[3] *Voyage to Suratt* (1696), p. 405.
[4] *Voyages Aux Indies Orientales*. Vol. V, Chap. XIII (3rd Ed., Amsterdam, 1727), p. 71.
[5] *Oriental Memoirs* (Ed. 1834), II, 152.

1691 to 1694, and is buried at the side of his girl-wife Arabella, who died in 1686, at the age of eighteen. But all these are dwarfed by the massive structures erected over the remains of the two great Presidents, Sir George Oxenden (1662-9), and Gerald Aungier, (1669-1677).[1] "The two most celebrated Fabricks among the *English*," says Ovington, "set off with stately Towers and Minorets, are that which was erected for Sir *John Oxonton*, and the other for the renowned and Honourable President *Aungers*." The Oxenden mausoleum was originally erected for his brother Christopher, who had died ten years previously. "Sir George Oxenden died in 1669, and Christopher's tomb was then enclosed in another, similar in style, but two stories high, and remarkable for the peculiarity of its dome, which represents an open cross. The height of this monument is forty feet; the diameter twenty-five; massive pillars support two cupolas rising one above the other; and round their interiors are galleries reached by a flight of many steps." Sir George's epitaph runs as follows:—

INTERROGAS, AMICE LECTOR,

QUID SIBI VULT GRANDIOR HAEC STRUCTURA? RESPONSUM HABE,

IN HOC GLORIATUR SATIS QUOD ALTERAM ILLAM GRANDEM CONTINET,

SUPERBIT INSUPER QUOD UNA CUM ILLA TEGIT GENEROSOS DUOS FRATRES FRATERRIMOS,

QUI ET IN VIVIS FUERUNT ET ETIAM IN MORTUIS SUNT CONJUNCTISSIMI.

ALTERUM VELIS INTELLIGAS? LEGE ALIBI.

INTELLIGAS VELIS ALTERUM? LEGE HIC.

DOMINUS GEORGIUS OXINDEN CANTIANUS

FILIVS NATU TERTIUS D. JACOBI OXINDEN EQUITIS.

IPSE EQUESTRI DIGNITATE ORNATUS

ANGLORUM IN INDIA, PERSIA, ARIBIA, PRŒSES,

INSULAE BOMBAYENIS GUBERNATOR,

AB ILLUSTRI SOCIETATE PRO QUA PRESIDEBAT ET GUBERNABAT,

OB MAXIMA SUA ET REPETITA IN EAM MERITA,

SINGULARI FAVORIS ET GRATITUDINIS SPECIMINE HONESTATUS.

VIR

SINGULARI SPLENDORE, RERUM USU,

FORTITUDINE, PRUDENTIA, PROBITATE,

PEREMINENTISSIMUS,

CUM PLURIMORUM LUCTU OBIIT JULII 14°

ANNO DOMINI 1669,

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[1] The tomb of Aungier was for a long time unmarked. It has now been identified and an inscription has been affixed. The identification is, however, not absolutely proved.

ANNO AETATIS 50

HEUS LECTOR!

EX MAGNO HOC VIRO VEL MORTUO ALIQUID PROFICIAS.

(Do you ask, dear Reader, what means this loftier pile? Take your answer. This one glories enough in the fact that it encloses the other lofty pile. It boasts, moreover, that together they cover two noble brothers, most brotherly, who in death, as in life, are not divided. Would you learn of the one? Read in another place. Of the other? Read here. Sir George Oxinden of Kent, third son of Sir James Oxinden, Knight, President of the English in India, Persia and Arabia, Governor of the Island of Bombay himself a Knight, honoured, by the illustrious Society on whose behalf he was Governor and President, with unique tokens of their favour and gratitude, on account of his great and repeated meritorious services on their behalf, a man, by noble blood, experience in affairs, fortitude, prudence, probity, preeminent, died, amid universal lamentation, on July 14th, and was buried, before a vast concourse, on July 15th, in the Year of Our Lord, 1669, and the 50th year of his age. Alas, reader! from this great man you may profit even in death.) One wonders what epitaph originally adorned the tomb of Gerald Aungier, Sir George Oxinden's still greater and nobler successor. This, alas, we shall never know, for the inscription, like those of many other tombs, was long ago removed, apparently for the purpose of making curry-stones, by the local inhabitants. The grave was, however, identified, and a tablet affixed in 1916. Hints of forgotten tragedies may be read in many of the inscriptions. On April 13th, 1761, Mary, the wife of William Price, "chief of affairs of the British Nation. Governor of the Mogul's castle and fleet", . . . . "through the spotted veel of the smallpox rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God," at the early age of 23. The tombs of little children are terribly frequent, reminding us of Ovington's statement that "the Corruption of the Air has a more visible and immediate effect upon young *English* Infants, whose tender Spirits are less able to resist its Impressions; so that not one of twenty of them live to any Maturity or even beyond their Infant days."[1] The famous "Annesley of Surat" has a tomb for two little sons, Samuel, who died of small pox in 1702 at the age of five, and Caesar, who died of cholera in 1700 when only three months old. Out of 400 tombs, ranging from 1644 to the middle of the 19th century, over seventy are erected to the memory of little children under five years old. "Spasmodic cholera" was the usual cause of death. One of them commemorates "Annesley, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Brownrigg, aged two months; and Margaret his mother, who fell a victim for him."

Close by the English Cemetery is the Dutch Cemetery, which contains some gigantic piles, the most striking being the tomb of Baron Van Reede, Com-

[1] Voyage to Suratt, 1696, p. 146.

missary of the United Netherlands East India Company, who died on his way to Surat, December 15th, 1691. It consists of " a double cupola of great dimensions, with a gallery above and below, supported on handsome columns. It was formerly adorned with frescoes, escutcheons, and passages from Scripture, and the windows were fitted with much beautiful wood-carving." The inscription is as follows:—

HIER RUST
HET LICHAAM VAN
ZYN HOOG EDEL LEYT
D. Hr. HENDRIK ADRIAAN
BARON VAN REEDE
TOT DRAKENSTEIJN HEERE VAN
MAYDIEGHT
ONDER DE ORDRE VAN DE RIDDER
SCHAP EN UGT DE SELVE ORDRE
GECOMMITTEERD IN DE ORDINARIS
GEDEPUTEERDE VAN D'EDle MOGEND
HEEREN STAATEN S LANDS VAN
UTREGT
COMMISSARIS VAN DE GENERALE
NEDERLANDSE GEOCTROYEERDE
OOST INDISCHE COMPAGNIE OVER
INDIA
REPRESENTENDE IN DIER QUALITIE
DE VERGADERINGE DER EDle Hren
XVIIen
OVERLEDEN DEN 15EN DECEMBER
A° 1691
OP'T SCHEP DREGERLANT ZYLENDE
VAN COCHIM NAAR SOURATTA
OP DE HOOGLE VAN DE ENGELSE
STERKTE BOMBAI;
OUD ONGEVAER
56 JAAREN.

(" Here rests the body of His Highness Lord Henry Adrian, Baron Reede of Drakenstein, Lord of Meydiegt, honoured with the order of knighthood,

and usually delegated by the same Order as Deputy of the noble and mighty Lords, the States of the Province of Utrecht. Commissary of the United Netherlands licenced East India Company for India, representing in that capacity the Assembly of the Noble Lords of the Seventeen. Departed this life on December 15th, 1691, on the ship Dregerlant, bound from Cochin to Surat, off the English Fort, Bombay, aged 56.") Ovington speaks of another Dutch tomb "less stately but more famed, built by the order of a jovial Dutch Commander, with three large Punch-Bowls upon the top of it, for the entertainment and mirth of his surviving Friends, who remember him there so much that they quite forget themselves." Thevenot's account is very similar. He says "The cemeteries of Surat are outside the city, three or four hundred paces from the Baroche Gate. The English and the Dutch have theirs too, as well as some Indian monks. The English and the Dutch like to adorn their tombs with brick pyramids coated with lime, and when I was there, they were building one for a Dutch Governor, which was to cost eight thousand francs. Among others there is one of a certain toper who had been banished to India by the General States, and who was said to be a relative of the Prince of Orange: a monument was erected in his honour in the same way as those of other persons of distinction; but to show that he was an adept in the art of drinking, a large stone cup has been placed on top of the pyramid, and another cup at each of the corners of the tomb below, and beside each cup there is the figure of a sugar-loaf: and when the Dutch want to amuse themselves at this tomb, they make a hundred stews in these cups, and use other, smaller cups to take what they have prepared, out of the large ones, and then they eat or drink it."

Among the many celebrities whose mortal remains rest at or near Surat, none was more odd than the eccentric Tom Coryat, who tramped on foot all the way from his native home at Odcombe to India, and harangued the Great Mogul in Persian, only to die at the English House at Surat of a surfeit of sack, with which the Factor generously plied him when he arrived, desperately ill with dysentery. He was apparently buried outside the Broach gate (not, as Terry supposes, at Swally Hole), and his tomb was probably washed away in some sudden rising of the Tapti. The only other early sepulchral monument in the neighbourhood is the singular pile known as Vaux' Tomb, a prominent landmark at the mouth of the Tapti. It bears no inscription. Vaux, a creature of the notorious Sir Josiah Child, was drowned, with his wife, while out sailing in 1697.

From Surat, we naturally go to Bombay, which became the Head Quarters of Western India in 1686. Here, however, we are doomed to disappointment. The old cemetery at Mendham's point, now covered by the Sailor's Home, was demolished for military reasons in 1760, and a new one opened at Queen's Road (Sonapur). Apparently this cemetery contained some handsome monu-

ments, for Dr. Fryer, writing in 1675, says, "The English have only a burying place called Mendham's Point, from the first man's name there interred, where are some few tombs that make a pretty show at entering the haven." Many human remains were excavated while digging the foundation of the Sailor's Home, and near the Sawmill Tank in the Dockyard. The Queen's Road Cemetery, irreverently known as 'Padre Burrow's Godown', according to the author of that scurrilous work, the *Adventures of Qui Hai* (1814), was closed in 1867, after over 19,000 persons had been interred. The tombs in the Cathedral compound, none of which are earlier than the 18th century, are of no particular importance. The monuments and mural tablets within the building, on the other hand, are of the utmost interest, and deserve a monograph to themselves.

At Broach, there are no 17th Century English tombs, though in the suburb of Velapur, there is an important Dutch graveyard, with massive tombstones dating from 1654 to 1670, the inscriptions on which have still to be transcribed.[1] At Ahmedabad, again, we look in vain for early English tombs, for example that of the heroic Thomas Aldworth, the founder of the English Factory at Ahmedabad, who died between Nadiad and Ahmedabad in November, 1615. His friend Thomas Kerridge, talked of raising a tomb, "that some memory might be had of him in succeeding times," but this is not now to be found. There is an important 17th century Dutch graveyard near the Kaukariya Lake, with massive tombs. Among the inscriptions are those of Begravia Dalniel Aima died 23rd April anno 1664: Begraven Cornelius Weyus van Banda . . . . died 12th January 1669; Johann Millissen Onder Cherergy died 5th August 1679: Wilhelm Huysman, died 28th October 1699. There are also numerous Armenian tombs still remaining to be listed, perhaps belonging to brokers in the Dutch Factory. There were very many Armenians in employment in all the factories and they had churches at Ahmedabad and Surat.

Karwar, with its famous 'English House,' once the centre of the pepper-trade, is also disappointing as regards early tombs. The reason is that the old factory was at Kerwad, 2 or 3 miles from the present town of Karwar, on the Kali river. It has now sunk to an insignificant village, and all traces of European occupation have perished. At the little neighbouring port of Bhatkal, however, there is a group of European graves of unique interest, because they are the earliest in the whole Presidency. The tiny cemetery in which they lie is beneath the trees on banks of the Sarabi Creek. It is only 36 feet square, surrounded by a ditch, and forming a raised mound. The three tombs in it are 4 feet high by 2 feet wide, and equidistant. Each has a granite slab, bearing the following inscriptions:—

1. HERE LIETH THE BODY OF WILLIAM BARTON

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[1] Since writing the above lines, I have done this. The results are, however, of no particular interest.

CHYRURGION : DEC : XXX : NOVEMBER :

ANNO DNI NRI CHRISTI SALV :

MUNDI MDCXXX(V) III : 1638

WILLIAM BARTON

2. HERE LYETH THE BODY OF GEE (O) RGE :

WYE MARCHT : DEC : * * * : MARCH :

ANNO DNI NRI SALV : MUNDI MDCXXXVII

1637, GEO : WYE.

3. HERE LIETH : THE BODY OF ANT :

VEREWORTHY MARCHT : DEC : 1 :

APRIL. AN DNI NRI CHRISTI SAL.

MUNDI MDCXXXVII ANT : VERE-

WORTHY 1637.

There was at one time another interesting tomb at Bhatkal, Hamilton tells a story of some English factors who went out shooting accompanied by a bull-dog. The bull-dog killed a cow near a temple: whereupon the inhabitants set on the factors and murdered them all! The Chief of the Karwar Factory sent a monumental stone bearing the following words, " This is the burial-place of John Best, with seventeen other Englishmen, who were sacrificed to the fury of a mad priesthood and an enraged mob."[1] This stone has now disappeared.

This, I think, concludes the somewhat meagre list of 17th century European sepulchral monuments in Western India. The tombs which have survived the ravages of time are few in number: many of the factors died in remote districts, and were buried, unmarked, by the wayside. Many tombs have perished, being constructed of brick and plaster and similar fragile materials. In innumerable cases they cannot be identified owing to the habit of pilfering the inscribed tablets: and still more often, whole cemeteries have been washed away, razed, or built over, and have disappeared altogether. But this only makes the surviving monuments which remain more precious.

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## *John Marshall's Notes and Observations of East India, 1668—1671-2.

(By Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., M.L.C.)

John Marshall, the author of the *Notes and Observations on East India*, does not figure prominently in the early history of the East India Company.

[1] *New Account*, I, 282.

* John Marshall's Notes and Dairy are being printed by the Oxford University Press. This is an introduction to the whole work.

Unlike his contemporaries, John March, Walter Clavell, Matthias Vincent and Job Charnock, he had no direct intercourse with the ruling authorities of his day, nor did he take any part in obtaining grants for trade redress of grievances or extension of territory in the early days of the East India Company. His fame rests on different grounds. For eight years after his arrival in India he pursued the even tenor of his way in Bengal, but as the first Englishman who really studied Indian antiquities, he left behind him a store of knowledge that will keep his memory for ever green in the hearts of all students of Anglo-Indian history.

Born in the troublous days of King Charles I, John, third son of Ralph Marshall of Theddlethorps, Lincolnshire, and Abigail, daughter of Robert Rogers of Netherthorps, Yorkshire, was baptised at East Theddlethorps Church on 1 March 1641-2. From Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (III, 147) and Peile's *Biog. Reg. of Christ's College* (I. 592) we learn that he passed his school days at Louth under Mr. Skelton and that on 25 June 1660, at the age of 18, he was "admitted sizar" to Mr. Covel at Christ's College, Cambridge, matriculating on 17 December of that year and taking his B. A. in 1663-4.

While at Cambridge, John Marshall's father appears to have died and the family moved from Lincolnshire to Essex, settling at Broomwood, now a suburb of Chelmsford, but then a village at some little distance from the town.

Of Marshall's College days nothing has come down to us except the fact that he formed a firm attachment for two notable scholars of his day, Dr. John Covel and Dr. John More. The former, three years his senior, was later to become famous both as a traveller and writer, while the latter, the well known Cambridge Platonist, who hailed from Marshall's native county, had been a fellow of the College since 1639, and was probably a friend of the family who stood *in loco parentis* to the young student. At the same time, it was the presence of More at Cambridge which made Marshall determine to relinquish an academic career since, according to the "Statutes of Christ's College 2 men of one county could not at the same time be fellow(s) of that College."

At the age of 25, Marshall sought a means of livelihood, and since his eldest brother Ralph was steward to Lord Craven, whose town house had been leased to the E. I. Company since 1648 (Foster, *East India House*, p. 24), there was little difficulty in obtaining an introduction and recommendation to the Court of Committees. At the instance of his steward, Lord Craven personally interviewed Sir Andrew Riccard and Sir William Rider, Governor and Deputy Governor of the Company, and also Earl Berkeley, an influential member of the Court of Committees. With such support young Marshall's admittance to the service was assured and he was summoned to London and duly elected a factor on 8 January 1667-8.

A fortnight later, after having taken leave of his friends in Essex, Marshall was escorted to Gravesend by three of his brothers who all outlived him.

Ralph, Lord Craven's steward, died in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, London in 1700, being still possessed of property in Theddlethorps and elsewhere in Lincolnshire (*P. C. C. Wills*, 10 Noel). He left a son Thomas, who, like his father, was connected with Craven House. Robert Marshall followed the example of John and entered the Company's service, also through the influence of Lord Craven, in the Factory at Bantam in Java up to 1678 when, "having served his full five years," he requested permission to return to England (*Factory Records*, Java, vol. 6). Thomas Marshall died in Somerset in 1688. A fourth brother, William, probably a child in 1668, is mentioned in his will (*P. C. C. Wills*, 49 Exton). No other details of interest regarding the family have come to light.

At Gravesend John Marshall went on board the *Unicorn*, commanded by Thomas Harman, a vessel of 330 tons, carrying 30 guns and forming part of a fleet of ten ships then making ready for India and the East. The *Log* of the *Unicorn* has been preserved (*Harl. MS.* 4252) and from it and Marshall's own notes the story of the voyage can be gathered. After having deposited his belongings on board, he went back with his brothers to London, finally taking leave of them on 27 January, although it was not till the 1st February that the ship reached the Downs. Marshall went ashore at Deal and "having agreed with the Captain to be of his Mess" bought "wine and strong waters" and sent them on board. The fleet was delayed by bad weather and it was not until 14 March that the travellers "lost sight of England."

On board the *Unicorn* with Marshall were Valentine Nurse, afterwards associated with him at Patna and John Billingsley at whose wedding in Hugli he was present in 1671, but there is no mention of any of his companions in his own account of the voyage. In fact, Marshall is singularly reticent regarding his associates both on the way to India and after his arrival there.

The fleet had orders that as many ships as possible should arrive together at Fort St. George, then "in rebellion to the Company" since Sir Edward Winter, the late Agent, had deposed George Foxcraft, elected as his successor by the Court of Committees, and had usurped his office. Captain John Price of the *Blackamore* carried the "Kings Commission" and each ship, as we learn from the Log of the *Unicorn* (*Harl. Ms.* 4252), was provided with "12 Souldiers and other ammunition for retaking it (Fort St. George) by force and establishing of George Foxcroft Esq. as Agent again for the Company."

On 26 March 1668 the *Unicorn* reached Madeira, where several English merchants were then residing, among them "Albinus Willoughby, a Roman Catholique," whose namesake (possibly a son) was later associated with Marshall's brother Robert in Bantam. Early in April the ships reached the Cape Verd Islands and provisioned at Santiago, or St. Jago as it was commonly called. It was probably while off this island, or on 13 May when he dined aboard the *Unicorn*, that Marshall became acquainted with Captain Richard

Goodlad of the *Rainbow*, whose story of a greyhound is narrated in the Miscellaneous Notes (Chapter XIII, No. 33).

No doubt Marshall took part in the excitement of catching "severall Shirkes" on 21 May, after which date the *Log* records no incident of moment until July 1668 when the *Unicorn* anchored at Mauritius. Here, while supplies of wood and water were taken aboard, the Traveller had time to explore the island and to note its natural productions, expecially the ebony tree and a now extinct species of rail which he mistook for the dodo. He found the place "very pleasant for wood" with "delicate River runing swiftly and birds singing pleasantly."

It was on the 3rd September 1668, nearly six months after the *Unicorn* set sail from England, that Marshall had his first glimpse of India and his first whiff of the "spicy breezes" of "Ceylon's Isle." A week later the Coromandel Coast was sighted and on the 11th the ship anchored in Madras Road. On the following day Marshall was taken ashore in a "Mussoola" and he has a graphic description of the boat and his experiences in her. He also remarks on a curious method by which native servants concluded agreements for service with European masters. He and his companions were "civilly treated" by George Foxcraft, who had been reinstated as Agent before the arrival of the fleet, and Marshall lost no time in taking stock of his surroundings. He thought the Fort "a very strong place" and the houses of the natives "very mean, being only dirt and thatch." The sight of "houses of entertainment" where English liquor was to be procured at reasonable rates was evidently welcome to him. He only stayed five days at Fort St. George, but he found time to explore Mailapur with its alleged connection with St. Thomas. He also tasted the water of "St. Thomas well", but expresses no opinion about the "very strange stories reported concerning this (St. Thomas's) mount."

On 17 September 1668 those factors and writers designed for other factories on the Coromandel Coast, or for Bengal, set sail for Masulipatam, where they arrived eight days later. Here Marshall stayed for the next nine months, but beyond brief, though useful and informing remarks, on the place itself and on the smaller factories dependent on it—Madapollam, the health resort, Verasheroon (Vîravâsaram) with its mango gardens and Pettipole (Peddapalle) a depot for cotton cloths—he has little to say of his early experience of life in India. It is probable that he was initiated into his duties as a servant of the Company and that, pending his transference to Bengal, he filled some post under the fiery William Jearsey, head of the factory at Masulipatam at that date, and it is also probable that his visits to the outlying places he describes were made for the purchase of cloth and other commodities. No details, however, are to be found in his Diary nor is there any mention of him in the Company's Records at this period.

While at Masulipatam, Marshall came in contact with Christopher Hatton, later to be Chief of the Factory, but then trading on his own account between Pegu and the Coromandel Coast and from him he learnt the facts concerning Pegu recorded in the Notes. Here also he made the acquaintance of two other free traders, Robert Freeman, on whom he did not make a favourable impression and George White who conceived a strong liking for him.

By June 1669 Marshall had had enough of Madras and had obtained permission to go "to the Bay whither he was designed." With others who had left England with him in the previous year, he sailed from Masulipatam on 5 July 1669 and reached Balasore Road four days later. This time he was taken over the bar at the river's mouth and up to Balasore in a "Purgo," a very different craft from the "Mussoola" in which he had landed at Madras. In Balasore he remained for seven months, during which he had ample opportunity to explore the "very great Stragling towne" of Balasore and the adjacent ancient city of Ramunā, but he says nothing of his official occupation or of the Company's servants with whom he was associated. It was eventually decided to employ him elsewhere, and accordingly on 14 February 1669-70 Marshall set out for Hugli, then the Company's chief settlement in Bengal. He travelled with Shem Bridges, head of affairs in "the Bay," Edward Reade and Gabriel Townsend, factors of several years standing. Two ladies were also of the party. The journey occupied three weeks and was made by land, along the river banks wherever possible. Marshall does not chronicle the events of each day's travel, but only those which specially impressed him such as the haunt, at Rāmchandrapur, of a tiger reported to appear every Thursday and salaam to a "Fuckeers Tomb," some graves at Garhpadā which he supposed to be "inchantments," the immense following of the Nawab of Orissa encountered on the way, a troop of religious mendicants "daubed all over with Turmerick and white stuff," and the fortifications of Narāyangarh strengthened with "Green Bamboes" which make the place impregnable."

Hugli was reached on 5 March, but though he stayed in the place for over three weeks, Marshall only devotes one short paragraph to its description. Foxcraft and the Council at Fort St. George had recommended him for employment at Dacca, the seat of the Mughal Court, but Shem Bridges and his colleagues opposed the recommendation. They wrote: "Wee take notice of your recommending Mr. Marshall to the employment of Dacca, but we much needs say that his naturall modesty, calme disposition and soft though quick utterance of speech, render him not so proper for Durbars (such as that is, which requires audacity to encounter the insolence of the Chubdars [mace-bearers], as well as Villany of the other officers) as others who may in the interiour endowments of judgement and discretion come short of him; therefore, after the departure of the Ships, wee shall according as the state of our business stands, consider whether Decca or some other place where we shall have occasion to make investments at the best and may most require his residence, and accordingly dispose him to an employment."

Failing a vacancy at Dacca, it appears that the Council at Fort St. George had indicated another post for Marshall for, on 16 March 1670, Robert Freeman wrote from Masulipatam to Richard Edwards, one of Marshall's fellow voyagers to India in 1668 (*O. C.* 3413), who was settled at Kasimbazar: " The Agent hath sent a strict order to your Chiefe in the Bay to settle all the Bay Factoryes and hath ordered Mr. Vincent Second of Cassumbazar and Mr. Marshall third, whom I believe you will find a Person proud and Surly enough." George White, however, was of a different opinion. He told Edwards (*O. C.* 3422): "If Mr. John Marshall be settled at your Factory (which was in agitation when I left your parts), let me advise you to entertain an intimate correspondence with him, whome can assure you upon my owne tryall is a right honest and ingenious person."

In the end Patna, then under the charge of Job Charnock who was later to immortalise himself as the founder of Calcutta, was selected as Marshall's destination, and he was allotted to the post which another factor, Joseph Hall, had obstinately refused to fill. He set out from Hughli on 28 March 1670 in a " Budgeroe " (*bajra*) manned by 14 oarsmen and 2 steermen. Beyond the crew and necessary servants, his only companion seems to have been Gabriel Townsend with whom he appears to have been antagonistic from the beginning.

In this voyage Marshall in his Diary gives the distance " sayled and rowed and pulled " in each stage and narrates each day's occurrences. No striking event marked the journey, but all objects of interest are faithfully noted. Marshall had a fit of tertain ague from 28 March to 7 April and cured it by means of pills brought from England for the purpose. In spite of his indisposition, he appears to have purchased piece-goods at Nadia on 31 March and to have done some bargaining to obtain them at a reasonable price.

On 8 April the party reached Rajmahal where they stayed three days, and Marshall made careful examination of the deserted palace of Shah Shujā, Nawab of Bengal, of which he gives an excellent description. The English had no factory at Rajmahal, and the house used by the Company's servants who transacted business with the officials in charge of the Mughal mint at that place was of insignificant size, consisting of only " 3 little small roomes and 1 little upper room." Marshall, however, did not personally inspect it, since the river was then too shallow to allow of boats approaching it. From Rajmahal to Monghyr the journey occupied a week. Near " Caushdee ", not now identifiable, the Colgong rocks attracted his attention and the hills in the distance elicited frequent remarks. He was also astonished at the " innumberable company of green parrots " so thickly congregated at night that, shooting promiscuously, he brought down five without seeing one. At Monghyr he noted Shāh S̱hujā's Palace (which he inspected more closely during a second visit in the following year), the position of the town and its fortified condition. He was now nearing the end of his journey and the

going was slow, for on 19 April the boat became so leaky that it was necessary to take her into a " Cola " (creek) and unload and repair her. Progress was further hindered by the strength of the current and " severall whirle winds " which sometimes " were ready to overset the boat."

It was at this time, when nearing Patna, that relations between Townsend and Marshall became strained to breaking point and the former " fell from words to Blows."

On 21 April the outskirts of Patna were reached and the still existing " Jaffercawns Garden," which then had a " Turrett " at each end a " little white house with a Balcony " in the middle, was passed. A halt was made at the Company's warehouse, used for the storage of their goods, and then the party pressed on to their destination, the Factory House of Singhiyã, on the north bank of the Ganges some dozen miles beyond Patna. Marshall is tantalisingly silent as to his reception by his Chief, Job Charnock, who had already spent twelve years in the Company's service at Patna, and he is equally reticent with regard to his employment, his companions and his impressions generally. There is no doubt, however, that he quickly settled down to work and obtained a grasp of his duties, for, after less than five months' experience, Charnock was able to trust him to undertake a journey to Huglî in an official capacity.

Of the interim between April and September 1670 Marshall has little to say. Beyond remarks on the weather and on an eclipse, his Diary contains little except an account of an expedition to the Lion Pillar of Bakhra, which he calls " Brins (Bhima's) Club " and about which he repeats the local traditions.

But though Marshall himself is silent as to his doings, certain details regarding him can be gleaned from the Company's Records which happily include a large collection of letters forming the private correspondence of Richard Edwards who, as previously mentioned, was one of Marshall's fellow-voyagers in 1668. Some 200 of these letters have already been printed in *Notes and Queries and Bengal Past and Present*, and Marshall found it among the earliest of the correspondents. On 13 June 1670 he is mentioned (*O. C.* 3433) by John Vickers, who had sailed from England in the *Blackamore*, Vickers asks Edwards to " send forward " a bill of exchange to Marshall by the first opportunity. Edwards acknowledged the receipt of the letter and the enclosure (*O. C.* 3433), a bill for Rs. 600 " payable four days after Sight to Mr. John Marshall in Shaw Jehaun (Shãh Jahãnî) Rupees." He added that not being able to hear of any messenger going to Patna " shortly," he had engaged one expressly " who promises to reach thither in 8 days." At the same time Edwards wrote a personal letter to Patna to the same effect on 20 June (*O. C.* 3435) suggesting that should the " Cossid " (*qasid*, messenger) fail to carry out his agreement to deliver the packet by the time stated, Marshall should " give him So good a payment as may serve for an example

to others." Marshall duly received the letter, but no copy of his reply exists. On 13 July Edwards wrote again from Kasimbazar (*O. C.* 3445) requesting Marshall to invest the produce of some sword blades sold at Patna for him in "Baroch (Broach) Stuffes for breeches, and the rest (if any remaine) in 1 bottle of the best flower oyle and some Otter (attar of roses) and Chua (chawwa)." He adds: "I had not assumed the boldnesse to have given you this trouble, but that I am, by my good friend Mr. White (from [whom] you will now receive a letter) encouraged and engaged to endeavour the Procury of a Correspondency with you, which I must confesse I seeke very preposterously, in that it Should rather be my aime by." Here the copy ends abruptly. White's letter has not been preserved, but it is evident that it reached Marshall's hands, for on 27 July 1670 (*O. C.* 3453) he wrote from "Johnabad" (**Jahanabad** or Singhiyā) to Edwards acknowledging both his letters, informing him of the sale of his sword blades, and adding: "I have received a letter from my brother White and shall be very glad to embrace a strict correspondency with you as I have with him, and to that end (as occasion offers) shall desire to trouble you with what concerns or business I May have at Cassumbuzar, as I shall be ready and glad to serve you." The term "brother" applied to George White the "interloper" shows that he and Marshall had struck up a firm friendship while at Masulipatam; no trace, however, of their correspondence has been found, nor have any letters between Vickers and Marshall been preserved, though there is evidence that such existed (*O. C.* 3461). From notes of his outgoing letters in 1671, we find that Edwards was still in communication with Marshall (*O. C.* 3560), but no details have survived.

Marshall's leisure time at Patna to undertake commissions for his friends was not of long continuance, for on 13 September 1670 he superintended the lading of a fleet of the Company's "Patelloes" or flat-bottomed boats for the transport of saltpetre to Hugli, saw that his own "goods" were safely placed on board a bajra, and four days later started on his mission. For an account of the journey the pages of his Diary must be drawn upon, as no reference to it is found elsewhere. Marshall was again associated with Gabriel Townsend and again the differences between them were of constant occurrence. Robert Elwes, who ranked next below Charnock at Patna, gave the party a send-off, and they then proceeded to Monghyr "which is reckoned halfe way betwixt Pattana and Rojamaul," but no halt was made here on the outward journey. At Bhagalpur, on 19 September. Townsend lost his dog which leapt out of the boat and could not be induced to return. The next day the fleet arrived at Rajmahal, where passes were procured from the Mughal authorities for the remainder of the journey. After leaving Rajmahal, Marshall and Townsend had a passage of arms. The boats were to take a different route between Rajmahal and Hugli from that followed in the spring of the year, and to touch at Murshidabad and Kasimbazar. Marshall had given orders to the "**Patello**" men to follow the main channel of the Ganges so as to

avoid grounding, but Townsend was in favour of the narrower channel of "Sutee" river in order to gratify the boatmen, who wanted to sell goods at Kasimbazar where they could avoid customs duties. Eventually, Townsend overrode Marshall's orders and allowed the "Chiefe Patello man" to go by the narrow river, with the result that, half an hour later, "one of the Patelloes was runn upon a Sand" and was got off with "great difficulty."

The cause of the friction between Townsend and Marshall was probably due to their position. Townsend had come to India in 1662 and had therefore been six years in the Company's service before Marshall's arrival. Yet they both ranked alike and apparently had equal authority, and this no doubt was resented by the senior factor.

On 24 September the boats were at Murshidabad and the next day Marshall had his first sight of Kasimbazar, where he was later to be employed, and where he found Edwards and others of his fellow travellers from Europe. His stay was brief and his departure "unexpectedly sudden" (*O. C.* 3499), for "at Sunrise" on the following morning the boats were under way, and on the evening of 27 September they anchored in Hugli river under the English Factory House.

While at Kasimbazar Marshall had delivered goods brought from Patna to Edwards and had received a further commission to execute in Hugli. This time it was two "small" bamboos and a "pallampore" (*palangposh*) that were despatched by messenger, through Vickers (*O. C.* 3492) on 5 October. A few days later he was hurriedly sent off to Balasore in the *Madras Pinnace* and at last he seems to have been released from the unwelcome companionship of Gabriel Townsend. His duty was to superintend the lading of the Company's ship, the *Happy Entrance*. Arriving at Balasore on 16 October, he left the vessel on her way to Madras and England on 5 November, and had much trouble in getting back to the Factory "being driven to leeward of Balasore river about 3 Course, or 6 miles." Of his doings during the next two months there is no mention in his Diary. He probably received a letter from Richard Edwards dated at Kasimbazar 14 October 1670 (*O. C.* 3499), thanking him for executing his commissions and asking how accounts stood between them, and he also probably, like his colleagues, employed his leisure in trading on his own account. On 30 December he set out to return to Hugli, by boat and arrived there on 5 January 1670-1.

While at Hugli for the third time, Marshall was present as previously stated at the wedding of John Billingsley, and there, on the 29th March, he was a witness of a Hookswinging Festival, about which he gives graphic details in his Diary. He remained at Hugli until May 1671 and on the 3rd of that month he started on his return journey to Patna, this time by land, and again we are indebted to his careful note-taking for the account of his journey. His cavalcade consisted of eight palanquin-bearers, six other servants and six "Peons" for protection. He was escorted out of the town

by Matthias Vincent, who at that date ranked third among the Company's servants in Bengal, and John Bagnold who had sailed from England with him in the *Unicorn*. On 5 May he passed " Pollossee," the famous Plassey of the following century, and on the next day " travelled thorow aboundance of fields of Mulberry trees " cultivated in the interests of the silk industry of Kasimbazar and neighbourhood. Arriving at the English Factory, Marshall accompanied John March, then Chief, to the Dutch Factory, where they supped with the principal officials for the Netherlands East India Company, and Marshall and March made a provisional agreement to return to England overland after three years' service. This pact was not carried out, since March died at Kasimbazar three months later.

On the following day, 9 May 1671, Marshall continued his journey to Patna, halting at " Muxidavad " (later known as Murshidabad), where he found " handsome shops " containing " brass ware, Girdles and Sashes " (turbans), etc. The next considerable place met with was Aurangabad " a very great towne of thatcht houses," and thence the way lay past many a " dry ditch " and stream " which suppose is filled in the raine times by the water which comes from the Hills."

Rajmahal was reached, without incident on 13 May. On this, his third visit to the city, Marshall made another close examination of Shah Shuja's Palace and Garden, wandered up the " much broken " paved streets, and watched the coining of rupees at the Mughal Mint. Leaving Rajmahal after one day's halt, the party spent the night in a huge *sarai* at Bara jangal, a place estimated to accommodate 800 persons. At this place Marshall had some difficulty with the customs officer who demanded *bakhshish*, but was no match for the Englishman, who promptly appealed direct to the Governor of the town, and produced his passes; whereupon an apology was at once forthcoming and the cavalcade proceeded on its way.

The Colgong rocks again attracted Marshall's attention on 16 May and he has further remarks concerning them. On the same day he appears to have bought a young monkey, but records nothing further about the animal. Monghyr was reached on 18 May and Marshall had much to hear of the happenings since he last passed through that town. It appeared that two Dutchmen, Nikolaas de Graaf, a surgeon, and Cornelille van Costerhoff, his companion, on their way from Hugli to Patna, stopped at Monghyr, just after Marshall and his saltpetre boats had left the place in September 1670. They were admitted to see the Palace, and immediately began to make a plan of the building and to note details regarding fortifications. This aroused the suspicion of the Mughal authorities and led to the imprisonment of the Dutchmen, who were placed in irons and were only released after much correspondence and the payment of a heavy fine. In consequence of this incident, all Europeans were suspected of spying and Marshall was " denied sight of the

Fort" and, as he passed through the town, his name was demanded by "a great Moor."

On 20 May evidence of the famine from which Patna and the neighbourhood were suffering was afforded the travellers in the sight of "very great number of dead corps" in the Ganges and on its shores, and on the following day Marshall was begged to purchase a twelve year old Muhammadan lad for half a rupee. At night he heard "a sad noise of poor starved people" and had much ado to save his palanquin from being rifled. On the following day more "dead corps" were encountered and the price of rice was ascertained to be beyond the means of the starving multitude. Patna was reached on 23 May and here it was learned that the death rate for the past four or five months had been 100 per day.

Marshall's return was apparently unexpected, and no preparations had been made to meet him. After awaiting in vain the arrival of the Company's *bajra*, he set out from Patna for Singhiyā early on 25 May, and encountered a storm when halfway across the river, in which his boat nearly capsized and he was fain to stand "in water to the ancles and in all the raine" for two hours.

After he was once more settled in the Company's factory at Singhiyā Marshall seems to have discontinued keeping a regular Diary and only a few disconnected dated entries from May 1671 to March 1672 are found in his Mss. He has several remarks on the abnormal rains of that year and of the overflowing of the river Gandak in consequence. He notes a bathing festival in August, an eclipse of the moon in September, and the occurrence of the "Hotty" storms at the end of the rainy season, but he is silent regarding his personal affairs. His subsequent history is drawn from the Company's Records.

With the capable and experienced Job Charnock at the head of affairs at Patna, there was little scope for the exercise of the powers of those under him, and Marshall seems to have recognised this, for in a letter from Charnock to Walter Clavell, then Chief at Hugli, dated 31 March 1672 (*Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 7), occurs the following passage: "Mr. Marshall understanding of Mr. Bullivant being to be sent up here hath desired leave of us to go downe to you, and hoped he may be capable of doing our Honble Employers any service at Hugly or any other Factory. So find [ing] his intentions, could do no less then correspond with his desires, so that he is gone towards you to wait in what employment you would please to put him in."

Marshall probably left Patna at the same time as the letter, for on 25 April Charnock wrote again to Clavell (*Ibid.*): "Mr. Marshall is long ere this arrived in Cassambuzar (being he went hence the beginning of this month), wee hope." As a matter of fact, Marshall had reached Kasimbazar by 20 April 1672, where his signature occurs, under that of Matthias Vincent,

in an official letter to Walter Clavell. Vincent had succeeded March as Chief at Kasimbazar and Marshall acted as assistant. In October he was sent to Rajmahal, now a familiar journey to him, in charge of the Company's treasure to be coined at the Mughal Mint (*Ibid.*).

For the next four years Marshall remained at Kasimbazar as "Second" of that Factory, occasionally, but rarely, visiting Hugli and Balasore on the Company's business. His signature appears below that of Matthias Vincent in all official letters, but not special references to him or his proceedings are recorded in the Letter and Consultation books extant. In the private correspondence of Richard Edwards his name occurs, but only in respectful messages from junior servants, except in two instances, November 1673 and June 1674 (*O. C.* 3895 and 3976) when he executed commissions for Edwards, who ranked next below him in the Factory. In 1674, too, George White came to Bengal and wrote to Edwards (11 November 1674, *O. C.* 4035) saying he was "in expectation suddenly to Meet my Brother Marshall at Nuddeah" but there is no evidence whether the projected meeting of the two friends actually took place. From the end of 1673, when he had concluded five years' service under the Company, Marshall ranked as a senior merchant and his salary was increased from £30 to £40 per annum, a pittance, which he, like other servants of the Company, augmented by private trade.

On 23 August 1676 Streynsham Master arrived in Bengal with a Commission to regulate the Company's Factories in that province. A month later he reached Kasimbazar, where he held an enquiry into the death, in 1673, of Raghu the *poddar*, (or cashkeeper) for which Vincent had been deemed responsible. He also scrutinized the accounts, looked into the methods of investment and examined statements regarding the quarrels between certain of the Company's servants. In none of these was Marshall directly implicated, but he was required to give his "opinion" and evidence in the various cases (*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I, 333, 347, 390, 488). His statements are clear and concise and contain no trace of rancour or ill-will towards the litigants.

On 17 October 1676 Marshall, with Edward Littleton, was appointed to take an inventory of the papers of William Puckle, a supervisor who had preceded Master, but with limited powers, and who had succumbed to a fever the previous day. In a list of "Sundry Mixed Papers" of the deceased, is mentioned one entitled "Mr. John Marshall, his reason against dealing with one merchant (Copy taken since at the Fort.)" This paper, which has unfortunately not survived, was evidently drawn up at Puckle's request to enable him to inform the Company whether it was to their "interest to deal with one, or two, or many mercants" (*Ibid* p. 407).

Among the many reforms and changes introduced by Streynsham Master in Bengal was the separation of affairs in Hugli and Balasore, hitherto worked conjointly, and the constituting the latter a separate factory. In consequence,

on 1 November 1676 a Consultation was held at Kasimbazar, over which Master presided (*Ibid.* p. 502) and " The Councell proceeded to make choice of a person to take charge of the Factory at Ballasore as Cheife, and having respect to the late settlement made in Ballasore the 11 April last, and to make as little alterations therein as possible might bee, with regard to the Honourable Companys Interest, Mr. Edward Reade and Mr. John Marshall were innomination, and they being withdrawne, upon the question, it was voted for Mr. John Marshall, still reserving to Mr. Reade his right of precedency, as appointed in the Honourable Companyes letter of 23rd December 1672." To this decision Edward Reade took exception on the score of seniority in the service, but his objection was disregarded.

Before leaving Kasimbazar, Marshall wrote, on 14 November, to Edwards, who was then at Rajmahal superintending the coining of the Company's treasure (*O. C.* 4237), requesting him to hasten the sending of money which was badly needed. He also gave directions as to the selling of a consignment of tin on his own account, which, if not disposed of at Rajmahal, was to be sent to Patna or Dacca, " but if you cannot do so, then pray send it back again hither to Mr. Vincent, for about 10 dayes hence I shall go hence towards Ballasore where am settled." On 9 December Marshall arrived and took over the duties of his new post. He now ranked " Sixth in the Bay," in point of service, but third in position, and might reasonably hope to become Chief in course of time.

Streynsham Master, who had preceded Marshall to Balasore, remained there until 21 December in order to enforce the new regulations for the conduct of the Factory. During his stay, at his request, Marshall produced " a relation of the manner of the trade of Pattana," drawn up from his personal experience (*Diaries*, II. 77, 88-90). The " Accompt " is a good example of Marshall's style and is consequently reproduced entire.

Accompt of Pattana.

*Ballasore*, the 16: *December*, 1676.—Worshipfull Sir, According to your Commands I have here given you an accompt of some perticulars relating to Pattana (Patna) and Singe (Singhiya) Factoryes.

Pattana lyes in the Latitude of 25: degrees and (blank) minutes inter Gangem, and in Pleasant place. The Honourable Company have noe Factory here, but what hire, nor doth the Cheife usually reside there, by reason the Nabobs Pallace is in the Citty, and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have not what they desire (sic), yett they are not satisfied therewith but creat[e] trouble, and if give[n] what they desire will be very chargeable. Which inconveniency is prevented by Liveing at Singee, which lyes North of Pattana, about ten or twelve miles Extra Gangem, and is Scittuated in a pleasant but not whole [some] place, by reason of it's being most Saltpeter ground, but is convenient by

reason thereof, for Saltpeter men live not far from it. Besides, the Honourable Company have a Factory at Nanagur (Nanagarh or Naunagar), which lyes to the east of Pattana (extra Gangem) about four or five miles. There remaynes generally a banian (*baniya*), or sometimes only Peons, to receive the Peter from the Peter men, which lyes there abouts, to avoid carrying it to Singee, which would be chargeable. And when what there is received in, it's weighed and put aboard the Peter boates there. There is alsoe another place about 15: or 16: miles to the westward of Singee, whether is brought all the Saltpeter neare that place and put aboard the boates there.

The manner of giveing money to the Petermen and the number of them, being thirty or fourty, is not necessary to acquaint you with, being it is mentioned in the Pattana Bookes; but those Peter men have others subordinate to them, and the Honourable Companyes Peons are kept with the Peter men to see that when the Peter is made they sell it not to the Dutch, which, notwithstanding the greatest care to prevent it, they sometimes doe. But I think Mr. Charnock is even with them, being they have binn falce and broaken their ingagement first, which was not to buy Peter of our Peter men, as wee were not to buy of theirs. But if the Dutch would be as reall (honest) as the English it would be of great advantage to both, for by the ones Peter men selling Peter to the other party, remaynes are thereby made; alsoe there are great ramaynes made by the Nabobs forceing from the Petermen what he pleaseth, whereby they are disinabled to comply with their ingagements, and when they cannot meet with it readyly, or the quantityes desired, he breaketh our store house at Nanagur and forceth it thence. English cloth will but little vend there, and Lead would sell well, but that it is farmed out by the Nabob to one person to buy it and none elce, and he is not responsible for any considerable quantity, being lately much indebted to the Honourable Company. Tincall (borax) is procured from the Rajayes Country (probably Bihar) from the hills, about six dayes journey N. W. from Pattana, and when brought to Pattana, Oyle is putt to it to preserve it.

English Cloth would vend well towards Casmeer (Kashmir) and in Cabbull (Kabul), but that there is a sort of Cloth very course and thick made at Lahore and sold at Pattana for about 5: rupees per peice of 11 covids 18 inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ covids broad, and Suppose is sould neare Lahore much cheaper.

This is what at present remembred by Your most humble Servant, John Marshall.

Marshall now anticipated a time of leisure to pursue his Oriental studies and to arrange and amplify the notes collected during the previous seven years. But he was not long to enjoy his promotion. In August 1677, after only eight months of office, an epidemic proving fatal to several of the Company's servants, ravaged Balasore. Clavell, who had accompanied Streynsham Master from Hugli and had remained to assist Marshall in the reconstitution of Balasore Factory and in the dispatch and unlading of the ships from

Europe, was among the first victims. He and his wife, with an infant child, died on 3 and 4 August 1677 (*Factory Records*, Hugli, vol. 7). Marshall at once wrote to apprise Matthias Vincent, who automatically succeeded to the Chiefship. At the same time he informed him of the urgent need of assistants, since the sickness was widespread and several of the Company's servants were incapacitated. Again, on 9, 10 and 23 August he forwarded important papers and details of his proceedings to the new head of affairs. Vincent replied by instructing Marshall how to act until he could assume the reins of office, but by the time his letter reached Balasore, the "raging dietemper" there had claimed another victim, and on 12 September the "much lamented newes" of the death of Marshall, "about midnight" on 31 August 1677, after only five days' illness, was received at Kasimbazar (*Ibid.*)

Beyond a statement by Edmund Bugden, the only responsible official left at Balasore, that Marshall's effects had been sealed up, pending Vincent's arrival at Balasore, the records in India contain nothing further regarding him, and the few entries in the *Court Minutes* are concerned only with the balance of his salary and other payments due to him. The one personal document that remains to be considered is his will (*P. C. C.* 119 King). This had been drawn up while he was serving in Patna, at "Johnabad" (Jahanabad), in March 1671-2, just before he left to take up his post at Kasimbazar, where it was signed in June 1673, being witnessed by Matthias Vincent, Richard Edwards and John Naylor the Company's silk-dyer. There are bequests to his brothers (Ralph Marshall being named as executor and residuary legatee), to his married sister Abigail Hamers and to Eliza Atwood of Broomfield, Essex; also to "Good-wife Willowes of Maplethorp, co. Lincoln, in token of gratitude for her setting my thigh which was broken when eight years old." The testator further directed that a tomb should be erected to his memory at the "mouth of Ballasore River" for "a landmark for vessels coming into the Road." There is no evidence of the fulfilment of this bequest. At any rate, two years after Marshall's death no steps had been taken to erect a monument or tomb, for when Streynsham Master paid his second visit of inspection to Bengal in September 1679 he noted the absence of a "mark for the Barr at Ballasore river mouth" (*Diaries*, II. 237) remarked that "the moneys given some years since by Mr. March and Mr. Marshall to build Tombs over their bodys there buryed, that they might be markes for the Barr, were not like to be soe expended."

To Anglo-Indian scholars the most important clauses in Marshall's will are those bequeathing to "Matthias Vincent Merchant and chief for the Hon: English East India Company in Cassumbuzar in Bengala East Indies all my Arabian and Persian printed Books, and history of China in folio," and to "Dr. Henry Moore and Mr. John Covell" fellows of Christ's College Cambridge, his "Manuscript concerning India" for "their perusall," after which it was to be returned to his brother Ralph.

The first clause shows Marshall to have been a student of Arabic and Persian. Now, as to the " Manuscript " or manuscripts. Probate of the will was duly granted to Ralph Marshall on 15 September 1679, and, as previously stated, he died in London in 1700. Dr. Henry More died in 1687 and Dr. John Covel in 1722. There is no mention in their wills of any writings by John Marshall. Yet, eventually Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford became possessed of four Mss. in Marshall's own hand, which now form part of the Harleian collection, housed in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. Of their history from the time of Marshall's death until they reached the National Library, nothing certain has been ascertained. Sir William Foster, Archivist at the India office, however, drew my attention to an entry in the *Twelfth Report* of the *Historical Mss. Commission* (Sessional Vol. 46 of 1890-91, Appendix IX, p. 163), dealing with the Gurney Mss. (No. XXXIV Miscellaneous), which runs as follows: " 1676, July 24.— " Moodoo Soodun's translation of the Saun-Bead (the epitome or sum of the Four Beads) into Hindostana language out of the Sinscreet, and translated from him into English by John Marshall." Twenty-six leaves. A letter from W. Salmon to Dr. Covel is attached, with which he returns the Ms. which had been kept " for my lord Duke's inspection." This shows that one at least of Marshall's writings was submitted to Dr. Covel, who returned to England from Constantinople about the time that Marshall's will was proved, and if one, why not the rest? Also from the fact that Covel's Mss. and books were sold to the Earl of Oxford and eventually found their way to the British Museum, there is reason to surmise that Marshall's writings were not returned to his brother Ralph and were included with Covel's remains. A prolonged examination of the reverend Doctor's journals and correspondence (Add. Mss. 229-10-14) may yet throw further light on his association with our author and his works.

It has not been found possible to examine the translation by Marshall which, so far, unaccountably, found its way among the Gurney Mss. but those of his writings in the Harleian collection are accessible and will now be described.

First in order of date come Harl. Mss. 4254 and 4255, reproduced *in extenso* in this volume, but with alterations in form for the convenience of students, as stated in the Preface. The Diaries of journeys between Balasore and Hugli and Hugli and Patna occupy the major portion of the folios. The remainder consist of notes of information on all sorts of subjects, gathered from hearsay or from observation, and now grouped under their several headings and separated into chapters. Since each of these has its own introductory note, there is no need to dilate further on their contents.

The other two Mss. in Marshall's hand preserved in the British Museum, like that among the Gurney Mss., treats of Hindu religion.

*Harl. Ms. 4253* has as its first title: "A familiar and free Dialogue betwixt John Marshall and Muddoosoodun Rauree Bramin (Madhusudana Radha, Brahman) at Cassumbuzar in Bengal [1] in East India begun the 18th March 1674-5." It consists of 40 folios. The "familiar and free Dialogue" occupies seven folios and deals, in a series of questions and answers, with the creation of the world and mankind from the standpoint of Hinduism. On fol. 9 is a fresh title: "Account of the Hindoo book called Srebaugbut-poram." It is dated 25 June 1675 and consists of a rough translation of a portion of the *Bhagavata-purana*, from the version supplied by the Brahman named above.

The translation is resumed in *Harleian Ms.* 4256, which consists of 230 folios, the first 16 being a copy of folios 9 to 40 of *Harleian Ms.* 4253. Folios 17 to 48 continue the translation and were ended 14 July 1674, so it appears that Marshall began his translation while in Kasimbazar in 1674 and revised it the following year, as all the dates, except the last in this Ms., are earlier than 25 June 1675, which appears at the beginning of the work in Harleian Ms. 4253. Folios 49 to 51 have an index of names. After that the translation is carried on in sections headed "Bramins Poran, Liber B (22 March 1674-5), Liber C (30 April 1675), Liber D," ending (fol. 190) with the words, "Hither writ 160 pages and left 63 to writ of that book called Serebaugabut Poran. Here ended le 18th June 1675." Then follows the final section (fols. 191 to 230), "Bramins Poran Liber E." The last date that is given, some distance from the end, is 29 May 1677, showing that Marshall continued his study of Hindu religion and Oriental languages after his transference from Kasimbazar to Balasore. There is also a late copy (originally *Additional Ms.* 7038, but now in the Oriental Mss. Department of the British Museum, catalogued 17A K) of part of *Harleian Ms.* 4256, beginning with the portion dated 30 April 1675, and entitled "The Sri Bhagavat Puran-Translated into English by John Marshall from a Persian Version of the Sanskrit original."

The fact that, after only five years' residence in India, with little leisure from his commercial duties, Marshall should have attempted such a task as a translation of the Bhagavad-purana, entitles him to a place among Oriental students, even though at the present time his work has little scientific value. His efforts may or may not have met with the recognition they deserved, for no contemporary criticisms have come down to us. The earliest mention, so far unearthed, is in 1872, when Professor E. B. Cowell in a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society on 17 April of that year, remarked (Transactions I. 8); "If Marshall had published his researches in 1680 they would have inaugurated an era in European knowledge of India, being in advance of anything which appeared before 1800" (*Christ's College Biographical Register*, I. 592).

The only other allusion to Marshall's writings discoverable, prior to the end of the last century, is in J. C. Marsham's *History of Bengal*, published in 1887, where Marshall is described (p. 50) as "probably the first Englishman who ever made himself master of the classical language (Persian) of the country (India)".

Before the end of another decade Marshall's Mss. had attracted the attention of C. R. Wilson, as stated in the Preface, and since his time his "Notes and Observations" have been of the greatest assistance to students of seventeenth century Anglo-Indian history.

In addition to his Mss. two letters in Marshall's own hand have been preserved. They are included in the private correspondence of Richard Edwards (*O. C.* 3453 and 4237, *India Office* Records), are dated 27 July 1670 and 14 July 1676 have already been mentioned in their due place in the biographical sketch given above.

On the two Mss. reproduced in this volume a few additional remarks may not be out of place. In the Diaries the task of tracing Marshall's routes has been greatly hampered owing to the lack of contemporary maps of the district traversed and to the very great changes in the waterways since his day. Rennell, the "father of Indian geography," did not begin his surveys until a century after Marshall's time when many alterations in the bed of the rivers had already taken place. Dr. Buchanan, travelling over part of Marshall's route some forfy years after Rennell, found it, in many cases, impossible to locate places marked by the great surveyor, and Col. W. M. Coldstream, lecturing before the Royal Society of Arts in January 1926, remarked: "It is interesting to see how greatly the waterways of Bengal have changed during the last 120 years. So much is this the case that I found it difficult to locate this extract (from Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*). A few of the village sites and names have remained and one can trace the beds of some of the rivers as they existed when Rennell surveyed them but there is hardly a water-course that now runs even approximately in its old channel." In view of the above statement, it will be easily understood that no great degree of accuracy can be claimed for the position of the places in the accompanying map of Marshall's routes. In fact, without the ungrudging assistance of one familiar with the district, the identification of many of the names would have been impossible. As it is, although the utmost care has been taken with the locations, a certain amount of guesswork has been unavoidable.

Like his contemporary, Thomas Bowrey, and his predecessor, Peter Mundy (whose Mss. have been printed by the Hakluyt Society), Marshall was a keen observer, ever on the alert to acquire information. Like them too, he considered no subject too trivial for remark, and while specialising on religion and astrology, he was equally interested in the habits and customs of the people among whom his lot was cast, the strange birds and beasts and fishes

that he encountered, the natural productions such as "he" and "she" bamboos, and the stories told him of the countries beyond the high mountains visible from the neighbourhood of Patna. Thus, his "Notes," when arranged in some kind of order, afford valuable details on all kinds of subjects, as will be seen from the grouping of the chapters.

In some cases, Marshall's information, jotted down in haphazard fashion, is specially important. For instance, in Chapter II, under date 1 March 1669-70, he gives us the actual boundary between Orissa and Bengal at that date. In 1671, on his return journey to Patna (Chapter IV), he tells the true story of the imprisonment of the two Dutchmen at Monghyr in the previous year and how they only succeeded in regaining their freedom by the payment of a heavy fine, a fact suppressed by De Graaf when narrating the occurrence for Dutch readers. Then there are Marshall's interesting remarks on the varying extent of the *kos* in the different districts through which he journeyed, on the varieties of pice current in Patna and its neighbourhood (note 64), and on coins, weights and measures in general.

Since we know that Marshall began his study of Hindu religion and philosophy as soon as he reached Patna, if not before, it is not surprising that his remarks on this head (Chapter VII) are very full. At the same time they are often vague, owing to his naturally imperfect grasp of the meaning of his informants. On astrological matters he was an enthusiastic enquirer and his zeal in recording all he heard on the subject is truly amazing. Mr. Kaye has given his considered opinion on the worth of the "Notes" and his exhaustive criticisms leave nothing further to be said on this section (Chapter IX).

In medicine as practised in the East in his day, Marshall also showed himself keenly interested, and he personally tested of some of the strange remedies which were passed on to him. His remarks on this science (Chapter X) show his usual acuteness, though in some cases it has proved difficult, if not impossible, to identify the disease he describes or the ingredients of the prescription for its cure.

The folklore of the country would naturally prove attractive to one who was bestowing much thought on its philosophy, and here again (Chapter XI) Marshall's "Notes" are very full and entertaining. Besides descriptions of the notable "magic squares," on which much has been written, there are remarks on many less known charms and tricks, as well as various beliefs that have not found their way into the ordinary text books on the subject. The remarks on Muhammadan laws and religion were obtained from a Musalman at Patna when Marshall's own knowledge of the vernacular must have been very slight and in consequence contain many misconceptions, but, as elsewhere, his errors are counterbalanced by statements of value regarding customs prevalent in his day.

Of our author's temperament and character much can be learned from his Diaries. He was fearless, stern and uncompromising in the discharge of his duties and refused to be either intimidated or blackmailed. When threatened by a customs officer (12 May 1671) with the stoppage of the Company's goods unless a bribe was forthcoming, "Therefore I would give him nothing because I would breake that custome of extortion." Again, three days later, when an underling tried the same game on him, he promptly appealed to the chief official in charge of the place and received an immediate apology. He was as jealous of his own position as of that of his masters, and the acrimony which marked his relations with Gabriel Townsend was probably, as previously remarked, due to the fact that Townsend, as a factor of longer standing, treated the newcomer with a lack of respect. A stickler for etiquette, Marshall's vexation must have been great when, on his return to Patna in May 1671, he found that no arrangements had been made for his reception. The non-appearance of the Company's "Budgera" to take him to Singhiyā, "having writ for it," would further have increased his anger and it was little wonder that his wrath descended on the incompetent boatmen who manned the uncomfortable craft in which he was eventually compelled to make the journey to the English factory house.

On the other hand, Marshall's remarks on the victims of the famine of which he was an eyewitness show him to have been tenderhearted and really troubled by the sufferings he was unable to mitigate. That in the ordinary way he was of a quiet and peaceable disposition is evinced by the way in which he escaped embroiling himself in the various disputes raging in Kasimbazar when he was transferred thither from Patna in 1673. At the same time he incurred no odium from the belligerents. Neither the venomous tongued Joseph Hall nor the quarrelsome John Smith has a word in his disfavour. Freeman alone found him "surly," such "Surliness" being probably only the awkwardness of a shy man as a newcomer on foreign soil. Had Marshall really been of a morose, overbearing disposition, he would not so easily have obtained material for his "Notes." Among his informants were folk of different position and nationality, chiefs of factories (Charnock, Vincent and the Dutch "Directores"), independent free traders (Hatton and White), Hindu doctors and teachers, Muhammadan "vakeels" (agents) and Armenian traders. No intolerant churlish individual could have commanded so wide a circle of acquaintances, if not friends, for there is no doubt that the warm affection felt for him by George White was also shared by others. Marshall's "naturall modesty," which Shem Bridges found unsuitable for maintaining his position in Oriental Courts, also precluded him from thrusting himself before the notice of his employers. He seems to have been content to fulfil his duties conscientiously and to await what promotion was justly due to him. In fact, the impression gathered from his writings and from that of the remarks of his friends and acquaintances is that of a perfect English gentleman.

# The Company's Trade in Bengal in the days of Cornwallis.

(By J. C. Sinha, M.A.)

It is well known that the East India Company was primarily a trading corporation rather than a government charged with the administration of Bengal. A study of its trade gives therefore an insight into its administration. The trade in Cornwallis's days was remarkable in more ways than one. It was during this period that there were the first trial shipments of Indian jute to Britain and of British piecegoods to India—commodities which almost dominate the trade between the two countries at the present time. The trade with America also began at this time which is now of such growing importance.

*Woollens and metals.*

The general character of the import trade, however, remained unchanged. Thus woollen goods and metals continued to be the chief imports throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century. Only a few months before the arrival of Cornwallis in Bengal, the Court of Directors wrote[1] to the Governor General in Council " our exports to your Presidency this season would principally consist of:—

> 338 bales of broad cloth, 50 bales of long ells, 40 bales of broad long ells, 2 boxes of tabbinets (*sic*), lead 50 tons, iron 50 tons, copper 350 tons, Madeera wine 250 pipes."

The trade in woollens was generally unprofitable. Thus in their letter dated March 25, 1791, the Court of Directors said, " in regard to woollens we are sorry to observe the very evident decline of this branch of our concerns, both in your provinces and on the Malabar coast." In the course of the same letter they remarked " rather than suffer them (woollen goods) to remain perishing on hand and incurring a weight of accumulating interest, we consent to your disposing of them even at prime cost." The case was otherwise with regard to metals which generally sold at a profit.

*Inventions in English cotton manufactures.*

A new import in Cornwallis's days which had later on far-reaching effects on the economic life of Bengal, was English cotton manufactures. As is well-known, a series of inventions during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century turned England from an industrially backward country into " the workshop of the world." Even as late as 1764 cotton weaving was an insignificant industry in England, her cotton exports being one-twentieth of her woollen exports. Moreover, these cotton goods

[1] Letter from the Court of Directors, dated April 12, 1786.

were mixed stuffs, half cotton and half linen. The English spinners of those days could not produce cotton yarn sufficiently strong to be used as warp, and consequently linen thread had to be used for this purpose.[1] The invention of Arkwright's water-frame in 1768 removed this difficulty. It produced cotton yarn suitable for warp, so that pure cotton goods could be made in England. One year before this, Hargreaves had inverted his spinning jenny, increasing elevenfold the power of the spinner. In 1775, Crompton combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame and evolved a machine called the mule. This could spin yarn so fine that the manufacture of muslin became possible in England. Lastly, there came Cartwright's power loom in 1784.

*First sample of English muslin sent to Bengal in 1783.*

One year before the invention of the power loom, the first sample of English muslin was sent to Bengal. In their letter of March 1, 1783, the Court of Directors said: "We transmit you by this conveyance three small boxes containing musters of some muslins, the produce of a manufacture that has lately been set up at Manchester ..... The great degree of perfection to which this manufacture is already arrived, although at present only in its infant state, the prices which are 20 per cent. under our own . . . cannot but alarm us for so important a branch of our commerce .... We doubt not therefore but you will also exert yourself to the utmost in causing the manufacturers of Bengal to pay every attention not only to an improvement of the fabric of muslins but also to a reduction of the prices, as (on) both the one and the other will depend very much our future success in this article."

*Rapid improvement of English cotton goods.*

Unfortunately, no attempt was made to improve the quality of the cotton fabrics of Bengal, while the English manufacturers were making rapid improvements in their own wares. In their letter of August 20, 1788, the Court of Directors observed: "By the great ingenuity and presevering industry of the British manufacturers, the article of muslins in the ordinary and middling assortments is at length brought to that degree of perfection that there is every reason to apprehend a sufficient supply of the best Surat cotton will enable them to meet the Indian white piecegoods of the above description in the foreign markets." In the course of the same letter the Court of Directors also observed that the duty and freight on the Company's import had already enabled the English manufacturers to undersell Indian cotton goods in the British market. In its reply to the British manufacturers in 1788, the Company also observed that 85 per cent. of the calicoes and 60 per cent. of the muslins imported by the Company was re-exported from England at the time.

[1] There is at present a similar difficulty in India in weaving *khaddar* (homespun cotton). Handspun yarn is not generally strong enough for the warp and mill made yarn has often to be used for that purpose.

### *Why the Company did not protect the indigenous industry.*

The Company considered the trade in Indian cotton goods, especially in coarser stuffs as doomed and did not, or rather could not, take any step to protect the national industry of Bengal from the competition of its new rival. It was not even possible to reserve for the Bengal industry its foreign market. It was hardly prudent for a private corporation, enjoying special trade privileges from the British Parliament, to antagonise the manufacturing interest in England by restricting the import of British cotton goods to India. In fact, the Company looked at the question of Lancashire competition, not from the point of view of the ruling power in Bengal, but solely from the standpoint of its own pecuniary interest as a trading body.

### *Enquiry whether Manchester goods would sell in Bengal.*

In their letter of March 28, 1788, the Court of Directors enquired whether Manchester goods were "likely to answer for sale" in this country. They even went further and a few months later in compliance with the wishes of the (English) manufacturers came to the resolution of importing 500,000 lbs. weight of Broach and Surat cotton or cotton of the produce of Bengal of a similar quality.[1] The Company took these steps, not with the deliberate intent of injuring the cotton industry of Bengal, but simply in the interest of its own dividend. Woollen goods did not sell in this country and the Court of Directors enquired whether English cotton goods would have a profitable market in India. They looked at the export trade of Bengal mainly as a channel for the remittance of surplus revenue. As there was the competition of British goods in the English and other foreign markets, the Company considered it good policy to export raw materials in lieu of Indian manufactures. Moreover, such a policy which would be regarded as quite "patriotic," would also help to stop public clamour in England against the Company's monopoly of trade in India.[2]

### *Import of British cotton goods insignificant up to the end of the Napoleonic wars.*

But the Company's anxiety to push the sale of Manchester goods did not immediately affect the cotton industry of Bengal to any serious extent. Cartwright's power loom was imperfect in many ways and its wider use in England became possible only after Horrocks's improvements in 1813. The import of British cotton goods to Bengal thus continued to be insignificant right up to the downfall of Napoleon

[1] Letter from the Court of Directors, dated August 20, 1788.

[2] With the same objects in view, *viz.*, to remit surplus revenue and to secure public support in England to its trade privileges, the Company encouraged the production of raw silk and indigo which were raw materials of British industries at a great financial sacrifice.

*Cotton exports of Bengal uninterrupted till 1793.*

Two important changes in the cotton trade of Bengal took place during the administration of Cornwallis. One was the loss of the English market, a small one since the passing of the Acts of 1700 and 1720, and the other was a reduction in the export of muslins to France after the outbreak of the French Revolution. These fine stuffs had a large sale in the Court of Versailles. The French Revolution practically ruined this trade. Apart from these changes, the Company's export of Bengal cotton goods continued more or less uninterrupted during the administration of Cornwallis. Excepting the temporary fall in 1788 and 1789, which was probably due to the famine[1] of 1788 and its after effects, the sale value of the Company's export of Bengal piecegoods exceeded one million pounds[2] per annum throughout the administration of Cornwallis. This trade continued also to be in general profitable during the period. The five half-yearly sales in London from March 1788 to March 1790 of which there is a detailed account in the Commercial Letters from the Court of Directors, show that Bengal piecegoods sold at a profit during these two years and a half. But the war with France soon made this trade unprofitable. In their letter dated July 2, 1794, the Court of Directors referred to the low prices realised by the last consignment of piecegoods from Bengal, in spite of their good quality, "on account of the lack of competition between the home and foreign buyers."

*Raw silk.*

The export next in importance to cotton goods was raw silk. It was supplied under contracts chiefly with the Company's own servants and other Europeans from the year 1774. This led to corruption which was stopped by Cornwallis by reverting to the Agency system in 1787-88. It made a definite improvement and in the September sale of 1787, 97,810 (great)[3] lbs. of raw silk were sold at an average price of £1-4-9 per lb. by which the Company gained £9,728. Six months later, in the March sale of 1788, 73,329 (great) lbs. were sold at a profit of £10,726. This was partly due to the rise in the price of raw silk in England "on account of the almost entire failure of the last season in Italy."[4] But in the September sale of 1788, the Company lost £1,195. This was probably due to the high price of raw silk in Bengal during the famine of 1788. But at the three next half-yearly sales, the Company's raw silk sold at a profit.

[1] This was the second great famine in Bengal. Though not so widespread as the famine of 1770, it was very severe; mothers sold their children—see Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth, Vol. I, p. 156.

[2] For the Quantity and value of Bengal piecegoods exported from 1771 to 1809-10, see Milburn—Oriental Commerce, Vol. II, pp. 234-235.

[3] There were two different measures for raw silk, small lb. of 16 oz. and great lb. of 24 oz.

[4] Letter from the Court of Directors dated March 28, 1783.

*Reduced demand for silk in England.*

One adverse factor in the silk trade was the progress of cotton manufactures in England "which almost entirely banished silk from the dress of British ladies." The export to England during the seven years 1786 to 1792 averaged 319,832 lbs. a year as compared with the average annual export of 560,283 lbs. during the decade 1776-1785. This trade received a further check with the outbreak of the war with France in 1793. There was a severe depression in the English silk manufactures and the Company postponed its September sale of the year till February next, when the silk was disposed of at such low prices that the Company lost £47,746. To guard against future losses, the Company resolved "that the surplus quantity of silk beyond what the markets could take in its raw state, was to be thrown into the organzine in England." This experiment was successful and in spite of the war, the Company's trade in raw silk showed a partial recovery.

*Saltpetre.*

Unlike raw silk, the sale of saltpetre in England increased during this period. During the ten years from 1783 to 1792, the Company's average annual sale of saltpetre in England reached 33,130 bags, *i.e.*, double the quantity annually sold during the eight years of war from 1775 to 1782. This increase was mainly due to the resumption of the re-export trade in saltpetre from England in the years of peace. It appears from a letter of the Court of Directors dated April 12, 1786, that the Company had been compelled to reduce considerably the price of saltpetre to meet the competition of the Dutch, the Danes and the Portuguese. In their letter of April 8, 1789, the Court of Directors complained that although they had gradually reduced the price of saltpetre from 80*s*. to 42*s*. per cwt. the demand did not show sufficient increase. In their letter of May 19, 1790, the Court of Directors remarked, "we have again reduced the price of (saltpetre) to 38*s*. . . . . but out of 39,703 bags offered at the September sale only 24,896 sold at the advance of 6*d*. In the March sale of this year we declared 32,390 bags at the same price but only 21,354 sold. We have now in warehouse unsold 18,541 besides what we expect by the approaching arrivals." But this glut disappeared with the outbreak of the war with France. It appears from the letter of the Court of Directors dated October 10, 1792, that in the saltpetre sale of that year 22,000 bags were sold at an average price of £3-7-10 per cwt. The Court of Directors rightly observed that this increased demand was "owing to the present continental troubles more than to any regular or permanent increase of consumption." But apart from the profits of this sale, the Company's trade in saltpetre was generally unprofitable during the administration of Cornwallis.

*Indigo.*

Indigo continued also to be generally an unprofitable export. In their letter dated March 28,1788, the Court of Directors observed: "in the article of in-

digo from the time our Board of Trade entered into the first contract for that article with Mr. Prinsep in the year 1779-80 up to the latest period, we are sorry to remark the very havy losses that have constantly accrued thereon." Accordingly the Company threw open the indigo trade to private individuals in 1788 for three years. " We are led to the measure of laying open this this branch of trade," wrote the Cout of Directors, " in the hopes that it will create among individuals that kind of competition, which will not fail to operate in bringing the article to its greatest possible state of perfection, and as well as to ascertain the lowest rate at which it is possible to be manufactured'.' These objects were partly realised. Under European enterprise, the quality of Bengal indigo rapidly improved. In their letter of May 30, 1792, the Court of Directors noted with satisfaction that " it (Bengal indigo) had already surpassed the American and French and there is no doubt but by perseverance and attention of the planters it will effectually rival the Spanish."

*San and Pat.*

A new class of exports which the Company ordered in 1791 consisted of fibres called *san* (hemp) and *pat* (jute). With regard to the former, the Court of Directors observed in their letter of October 23, 1793, that the sample of *san* " will not serve for the purpose of cordage or sail cloth " the two chief sources of consumption. But to give it a fair trial, the Court ordered a shipment of 100 tons. " Of the sample called paat " remarked the Court of Directors in the same letter, " more favourable mention can be made. Some of the most eminent dealers declare that it is not hemp, but a species of flax superior in quality to any known in the trade." The Court of Directors ordered a shipment of 1,000 tons. This is the earliest mention of the export of raw jute to England.

*Company's losing trade.*

These attempts to push the sale of new commodities in England did not prove successful and towards the close of the century, the Company became a loser in its trade with India. This arose from its dual character of merchants and governors which caused great extravagance and unnecessary expense in its mode of conducting business.

*Commercial treaty with America.*

Though the Company's trade rivals had not to incur this unnecessary expenditure they dropped out one by one. The war in Europe prevented trade by the French and the Dutch. The Portuguese and the Danish trade, however, went on till 1806 and 1808. The real trade rivals then were the Americans. Their ships first appeared in the Indian seas about the year 1785. The Bengal Government thought it politic to admit the American vessels to its ports instead of compelling them to carry on their trade with the other European settlements

in India. This "gratuitous license revokable at pleasure" was confirmed by a treaty between England and the United States of America on November 19, 1794,[1] which granted to the latter the right of direct trade with British India. This enabled them to obtain the produce of Bengal much cheaper than they could by the circuitous route in Europe.

*American trade with Bengal.*

This facility and the war in Europe rapidly increased the American trade. According to the *Report on External Commerce in Bengal for 1795-96*, the exports to America had been gradually increasing since 1792 owing to the preference given there to cotton goods which were better adapted to the climate than Irish linens. The chief item of export to America was cotton goods and the main import was treasure. America being then an agricultural country, had few exportable goods to Bengal. But in spite of this, the belligerent state of Europe made the trade with Bengal highly profitable to America. It is stated in the *Report on the External Commerce of Bengal for 1796-97* that "the net profit of a voyage to Bengal, if the ship brings dollars, is estimated at 60 per cent. after the payment of every charge incidental thereto, and debiting the adventure with an interest at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum. This profit is generally realised in fifteen months."

*Various factors influencing Bengal trade during the period.*

Thus the official records of the East India Company throw a flood of light on the different aspects of Bengal commerce in the days of Cornwallis. The first seeds of our present trade were sown at that time. The Charter Act of 1793 which marks the beginning of economic freedom in India was also given effect to only a few months after Cornwallis had left this country. The measures taken by Cornwallis for the purification of the civil service, the establishment of law and order, the unification of currency, the removal of restraints on industry and labour and above all, the mitigation of the burden of inland duties benefited our foreign trade during the period. But it is not possible to discuss these in detail nor their bearing on trade in a short paper like this.

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## The Abbé Dubois in the Baramahal Records.

(By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

The Abbé Dubois (Jean A. Dubois 1765—1848) was ordained a priest in France at 27; but escaping from the horrors of the French Revolution and joining mission work under the Missions Etrangères, was first attached to

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[1] This is known as the Jay Treaty. Some of its articles relating to Indo-American trade are quoted in the General Letter from the Court of Directors dated August 31, 1796.

the Pondicherry Mission. After the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 the abbé was invited by the Catholic congregation to visit the place, in order to reconvert the forced perverts to Islam who were there. He resolved that in the course of his missionary work he should follow the illustrious example, set by De Nobili and Beschi, of adopting the Hindu mode of dress and of accommodating himself to the customs and even the prejudices of the people of the land. He says: "During the long period that I remained among the natives, I made it my constant rule to live as they did, conforming exactly in all things to their manners, to their style of living and clothing and even to most of their prejudices. In this way I became quite familiar with the various tribes that compose the Indian Nation and acquired the confidence of those whose aid was most necessary for the purpose of my work."[1] The Abbé stayed 31 years in India, living entirely among the people chiefly in the Mysore country (where he lived for 22 years and) where he founded the Church at Mysore and the agricultural community (of reconverted Christians) at Sathalli near Hassan. The Abbé is also said to have introduced vaccination into Mysore as hinted at in the proceedings of the Madras Government in June 1809, containing the extract of a letter from the Dewan of Mysore, dated the 10th of May.[2]

The abbé's book on the character and manners of the people was stated at the time by Major Wilks, acting Resident in Mysore and a noted scholar-historian, in the course of a letter addressed to the Military Secretary of the Madras Governor, as containing "the most correct, comprehensive and minute account extant in any European language of the customs and manners of the Hindus." The manuscript of the work was communicated to Lord William Bentinck shortly before his departure from the Governorship of Madras; and at a later date the Governor-in-Council decided to purchase it on account of the Company for the sum of 2,000 pagodas.[3] Both the learned Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the Literary Society of Bombay, to whom the manuscript was submitted and Mr. William Erskine, the translator of Babar's Autobiography, fully endorsed Wilks' opinion of the book; while Lord William Bentinck said that "in a political point of view the information which the work of the Abbé Dubois has to impart might be of the greatest benefit in aiding the servants of the Government in conducting themselves more in unison with the customs and prejudices of the natives."

The work was translated in London in 1816 and published under the auspices of the Directors in the next year. Meanwhile in 1815 the Abbé had revised and amplified his work; but this was not published till 1897. He returned to France in June 1823 with a pension from the Company and then published his famous Letters on the State of Christianity in India which boldly

[1] *Description of the Character, Manners and the Customs of the People of India and their Institutions, Religious and Civil.* Original Edition, 1817. Preface, p. XV.

[2] Quoted in foot-note on pp. 483-84 in B. L. Rice's *Mysore, A Gazetteer*, Vol. I.

[3] *Vide* Despatch to the Directors from the Governor-in-Council of 24th December 1807 which contains an account of the Abbé and his work.

announced his conviction that the conversion of the Hindus, particularly of the upper classes, was quite an impossible task. He became a Director and subsequently the Superior of the Mission Etrangeres in Paris and died, universally respected, in February 1848.

The work of the Abbé is full of valuable information, valuable even at the present day. It discusses the origin and the antiquity of the caste system, the division and sub-division of castes, the advantages resulting therefrom, the four *ashramas* in the life of the Brahman, the condition of the *Pariahs*, of the literature and the customs of the various classes of Brahmans, the system of civil and criminal justice prevailing, etc.

It may not be out of place here to indicate the correspondence that passed in 1797 between the Abbé and Lieutenant-Colonel A. Read, Commanding Civil and Military in the Baramahal and Salem Countries. In a letter dated Dharmapuri 13th September 1797,[4] the Abbé complains of his persecution by black priests from Malabar (evidently Syrian Christians) who attempted to oust him from the Churches in Baramahal and Salem and saying that the spiritual authority given to him was by the Bishop of Dolicha, Vicar Apostolic at Pondicherry who was entrusted by the Pope with the spiritual care of all Christians living in Tipu's country (portions of the Baramahal region were then under Tipu) and also claiming that the English Government had not only acknowledged the validity of his ministry, but also rendered active assistance, pecuniary and otherwise, to him. In a subsequent letter, dated the 26th September[5] he reiterated his petition to Colonel Read. The latter replied from Tirupattur under date 29th September 1797, that all religions and sects were tolerated by the British Government. Read wrote thus: "There appears no reason for my acting differently in respect to whatever sects of Christians may appear in these districts. I wish therefore that you would compound with the black priests that you mention as having arrived from the Malabar Coast in such manner that you may not interrupt one another in the exercise of your religious functions."

The letter continued:

"You state that they have authority from the Government of Madras to exercise theirs and that your claim to the exercise of the spiritual jurisdictions of these districts is superior to theirs as derived from the Pope. If their pretentions be such as you mention, it cannot be questioned; at the same time it is extremely improbable that the power of the Pope to delegate any authority whatever over these districts was ever acknowledged by any of the Native Princes. I am sure it would not be admitted by the Government of Madras.

. . . . .

"It is to those principles and to the freedom of the British Government that you owe the civilities you acknowledge; and as an officer belonging to it,

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[4] The Baramahal Records—Section V, Property, p. 77.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 80, No. LXXXII in the Original Records.

I consider all sects and descriptions of men in these districts equally entitled to my protection."

To this the Abbé answered in a laboured communication[6] that he was well acquainted with the spirit of universal tolerance that characterised the British Nation; but that he claimed the protection of the Government " in the absolute and exclusive possession of the Churches that I have caused to be erected in these districts." He added " I never carry nonsense to such a point as to solicit the expelling of my opponents from these districts. I only ask to be favoured with the same protection as before and to be maintained in possession of the Churches and lodgings I have erected . . . . ." To this Mr. Read replied that as the Abbé waived his spiritual right over Christians living in those districts and confined his claims to property that had been invaded by his opponents, it became an easy matter for him to decide ".[7]

The Abbé's interest was not merely confined to the propagation of his own religion. He addressed the authorities fairly frequently about the condition of the land and the people and about the possibilities of their improvement. In reply to a letter from Mr. Robert Hamilton, Assistant Collector, Central Division of the Baramahal Region, soliciting any hints from himself regarding the culture of the silk worm, the Abbé wrote (from Kovilur dated the 8th December 1796)[8] that the Baramahal appeared to be well calculated by its temperature to the cultivation of the silk-worm and gave an account of the method of the culture of mulberry trees followed in France, pointing out that the land beneath the great Tirupattur tank was most suited for it. He added that Tipu Sultan had intended to carry out the same object and judging the Baramahal country to be best suited for the undertaking had actually ordered the inhabitants in many places like Rayakottai and Virabhadradurg to cultivate mulberry trees; but in consequence of the war and the country becoming subject to the English, the inhabitants forsook that culture. The Abbé gave also hints as to the rearing of the silk-worm; he urged Government to procure breeds, both of the French and Piedmontese silk, which would give a greater quantity of superfine silk per given quantity of cocoons. The Board of Revenue in Bengal in their search for a good breed found none better than the Baramahal breed in the whole of the country. The Abbé urged the possibility of making silk-culture prosperous and a commercial object of immediate importance.

The Abbé was also in correspondence with the Principal Collector regarding some schemes for the improvement of agriculture. In an exhaustive letter (dated Dharmapuri the 29th December 1797)[9] he now put forward a plan of increasing the public revenue, improving cultivation and alleviating the distress of the poor people, at the same time. He says he found in many places cultivable land left uncultivated though there were pools containing

[6] Dated 8th October 1897, No. LXXXIV in the Original Records.
[7] Letter, dated 31st October 1897, No. LXXXV in the Original Records.
[8] The Baramahal Records, Sec. IV, Products, Letter No. XLIV.
[9] The Baramahal Records, Sec. XXI; Vols. I & II, Miscellany; No. XXXI.

water enough for cultivating all the lands below for six months. He urged thus: "The inhabitants will earnestly retake and again cultivate the land which several motives obliged them to leave uncultivated if you (the Collector) will consent to yield it to them for half the produce, that is to say that a half of the harvest good or bad be for the tenant, and another for the Company; at this rate I would pledge myself that an inch of land should not be left uncultivated in the country at large. My opinion on this head is that of all the inhabitants I have been able to consult in the several districts." It is the very poor that abandon their lands at the very first bad harvest "whose failure only one year is sufficient to ruin them and expose them to be obliged to sell their cow and other beasts to pay their taxes" whatever be the reduction that the Collector might effect in such cases.

The Abbé urged that this method of assessment of new land to be brought under cultivation might be so arranged to operate as to prevent fully cultivated land being abandoned by means of the following precautions:—(1) Every man who would leave the culture of the land at the time of this regulation should be excluded from the advantage of having any share in the distribution of the uncultivated land. (2) Preference should be given to the principal tenants in each village in proportion to the land they are now cultivating and by giving them uncultivated land as a kind of indemnity. (3) No body should be admitted to this benefit, of those who left cultivation before this time unless they should engage to cultivate other land in proportion at the old rate of assessment. (4) The assessment of the Company's share of the harvest of these uncultivated lands now to be cultivated should be done by two or three trustworthy men in each locality and the Government's share might be easily converted into money at the current market price of grain.

We also hear that the returns of the inhabitants of the country as taken by the British officials under Read were more or less false, as many imagined that Government ordered that enumeration in order to impose a poll-tax and so concealed the number of persons composing their families The Abbé tried to reveal the real motives of Government but was unable to disillusion the people entirely. He was fully convinced that the real population was at least a third above the nominal returns.

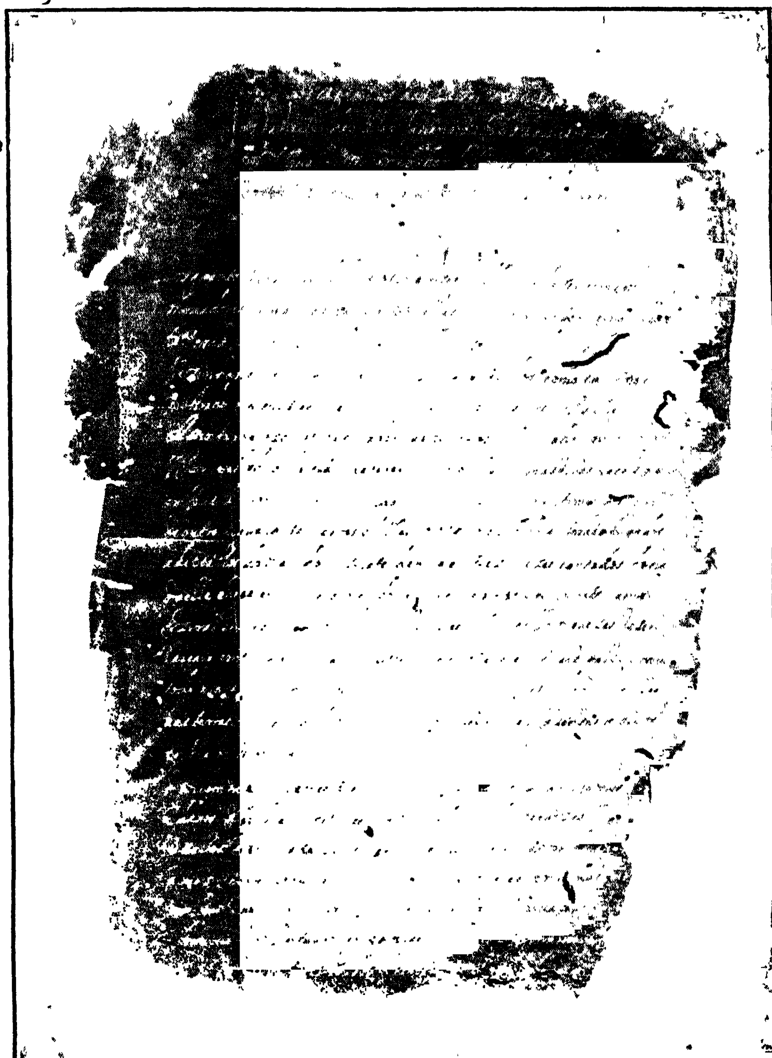
These are only a few instances of the great interest that the good Abbé took in the welfare of the people, both moral and material. Other instances of his practical humanity lie buried in the records of Government and are easily worth publication in a connected form.

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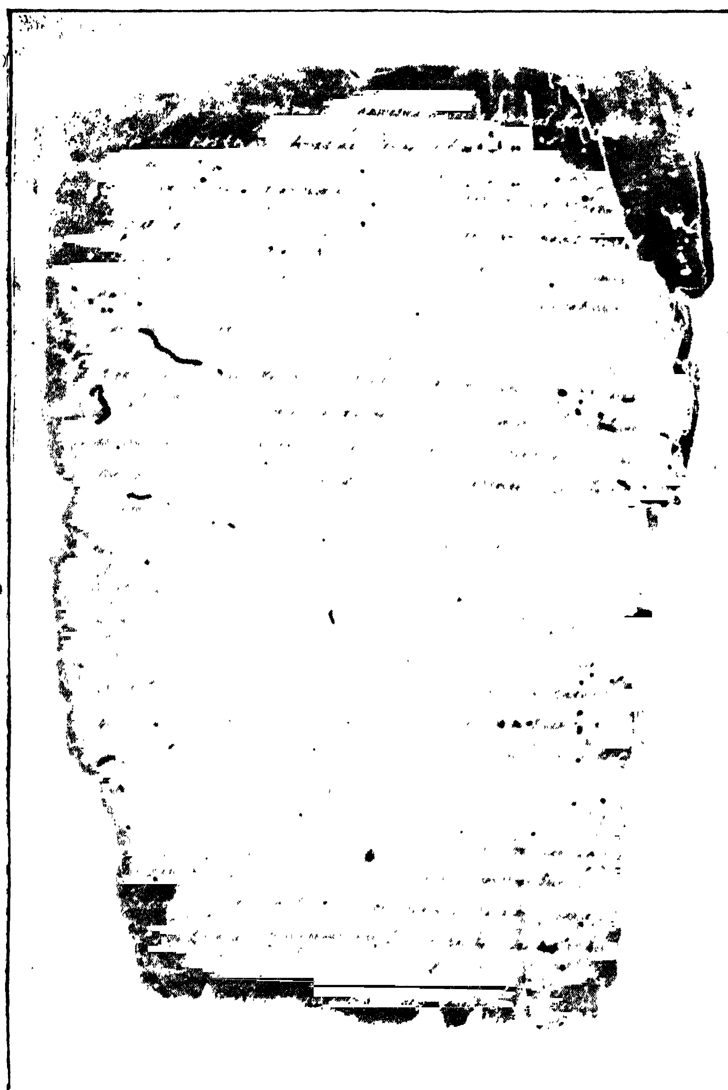
## Jahangir and the Portuguese.

(By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.)

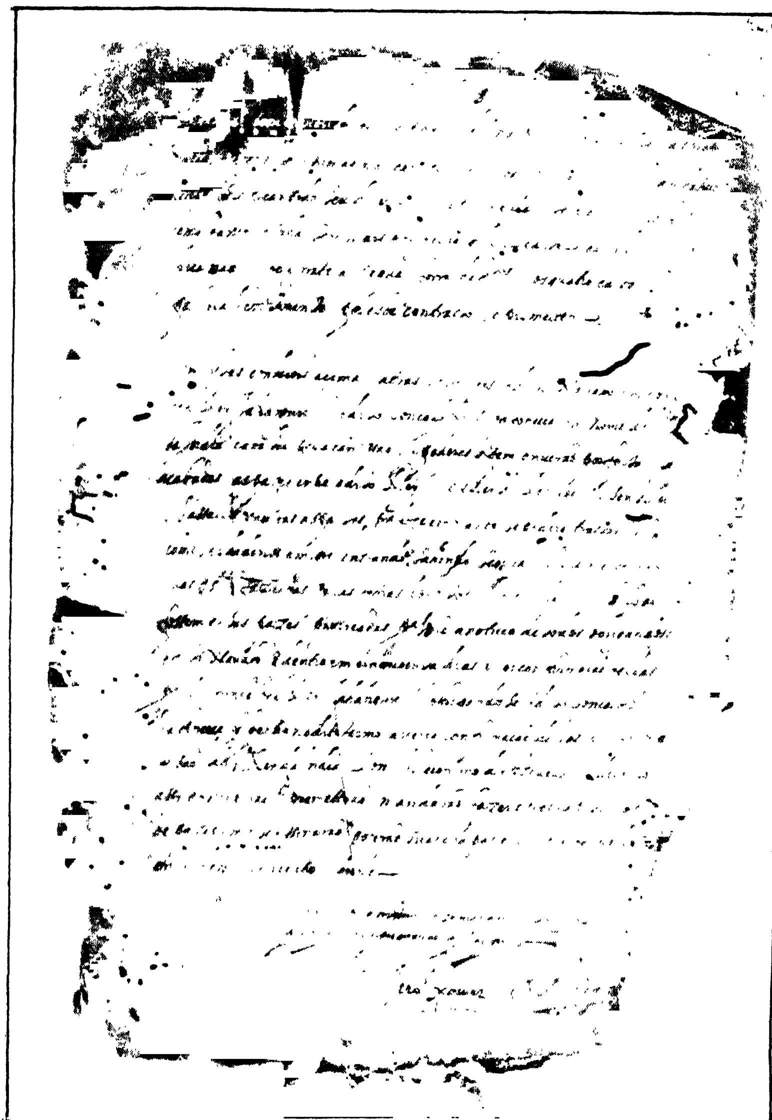
There was a period in the reign of Jahangir during which it seems at the first sight that the relations between the Mughal Empire and the Portuguese



Treaty between Jahangir and the Portuguese.



Treaty between Jahangir and the Portuguese.



Treaty between Jahangir and the Portuguese.

were broken for good. Jahangir threatened to expel those foreigners from Indian soil, a design long entertained by his father Akbar in desire, though never seriously contemplated. But all on a sudden war stopped, and no more dissensions between the two powers are recorded. This sudden change of policy has never been elucidated. Fortunately I found in the Portuguese Government Archives, Nova Goa, the treaty of peace settled between Jahangir and the Portuguese on this occasion. The document throws new light upon this obscure period of Indian history. Hence it is worth publication in the proceedings of the *Historical Records Commission*.

The first cause of dissension between the two powers occurred in the year 1613. "In the same month", says Jahangir himself, "news came that the Franks (Faranguis, Portuguese) of Goa had, contrary to treaty, plundered four cargo vessels that frequented the port of Surat in the neighbourhood of that port; and making prisoners a large number of Mussalmans, had taken possession of the goods and chattels that were in those ships. This being very disagreeable to my mind, I despatched Muqarrab Khan, who is in charge of the port . . . giving him a horse and elephant and a dress of honour, to obtain compensation for this affair."[1] This compensation, of which there is no other mention in Jahangir's *Memoirs*, was it seems not obtained on this occasion. New happenings were going to take place very soon, that deepened more and more the differences between the Mughal Empire and those adventurous foreigners.

These happenings were due to the rivalry between the Portuguese and the English traders who were just then starting their successful career in the East. Both the nations wished to settle at Surat. "The road of Soali (Swally), and the port of Surat are the fittest for you in all the Mogul's territories," wrote Sir Thomas Roe to the East India Company from Ajmere, on November 24th, 1616[2].

The first encounter between the Portuguese and the English took place off Surat in the month of October 1611. After a long struggle the English fleet retreated, their captain having been killed. Mr. Danvers says that he could not find any description of this engagement in the Portuguese records at Lisbon;[3] but Faria y Sousa gives a detailed and bombastic account[4] which may be supplemented by the more sober narrative of Sir James Lancaster.[5] Another engagement took place near Swally in November of the following year. There exist in the Portuguese Archives of Lisbon several accounts of

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[1] *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 255. Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, III, p. 241, (Lisboa, 1675), says that there was only one boat captured by the Portuguese. It seems it went to Mekka without the Portuguese pass ordinarily required in those days through the Oriental seas. This was the reason of this apparent break of hostilities. The boat belonged to Jahangir's mother.

[2] *Sir Thomas Roe's Voyages to India*, Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, VIII, p. 50.

[3] Danvers, *Report on the Portuguese Records*, p. 22.

[4] Faria y Sousa, o.c., III, pp. 194-6.

[5] Markham, *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, p. 188 ff.

this battle written by eye-witnesses.[6] The third encounter, that occurred in December 1614, is described by both Nicholas Downton, the English Captain[7] and Nicholas Withington also an eye-witness.[8] Jahangir refers to the defeat of the Portuguese fleet on this occasion as a good piece of news: "In the month of Bahman there came pieces of good news one after the other. (Here he speaks of the two first and then he adds:) The third piece of news was the defeat of the Warza (Portuguese Viceroy), who had done his best to take the castle and port of Surat. In the roadstead (in the Swally channel) of the port of Surat a fight took place between the English, who had taken shelter there, and the Viceroy. Most of his ships were burnt by the English fire. Being helpless he had not the power to fight any more, and took to flight. He sent some one to Muqarrab Khan, who was the governor of the ports of Gujarat, and knocked at the door of peace, and said that he had come to make peace and not make war. It was the English who had stirred up the war."[9]

This extract of Jahangir's *Memoirs* shows the pleasure he felt on learning of the Portuguese defeat. It seems that the English had been allowed to land at Swally, and negotiations had been going on between them and Muqarrab Khan. This the Portuguese could not tolerate; so they attacked the English fleet at the time of its sailing. Naturally Jahangir took this as an offence to his own honour. At this time, moreover, the Portuguese fortress of Damaum was already being besieged by the Mughal forces[10] and the Emperor himself had broken off friendship with the Portuguese at his court. Thomas Keridge, writing to the East India Company on September 20th, 1614, says as follows:— "The king here hath caused the Jesuit's churches to be shut up, debarring them from public exercise of their religion, and hath taken their allowances from them, yet their goods untouched, the merchants and their goods embargoed, the ports shut up and no passage by sea."[11]

This sudden wrath of Jahangir against the Portuguese did not last long. He seems to have inherited from Akbar the good quality of soon cooling down after a spell of anger.[12] The fact is that by the middle of the following year peace was already restored between the Mughal Empire and the Portuguese Viceroy. The chief agent who prepared the ground for the settlement of this peace seems to have been Fr. Jerome Xavier, as Faria y Sousa expressly

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[6] Danvers, *Report*, pp. 23-4.
[7] *Downton's Journal*, Purchas *His Pilgrimes*, IV, pp. 225-35.
[8] Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 198 and 224.
[9] *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, pp. 274-5.
[10] Faria y Sousa, III, pp. 147-8.
[11] *Letters received by the E. I. C.*, II, p. 107. *Cf.* Rawlinson, *British Beginnings in Western India*, pp. 52-68.
[12] *Cf.* Hosten, *Father Monserrate's Account of Akbar*, *J. A. S. B.*, VIII, p. 192. Something alike happened to Fr. Jerome Xavier himself in the time of Akbar's reign during the siege of the fort of Asirgarh. *Cf.* Heras, *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh*, *Ind. Ant.*, LIII, p. 40.

mentions,[13] though Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca was the one who finally settled it on behalf of the Portuguese Viceroy.[14]

Faria y Sousa gives some clauses of the treaty.[15] Danvers, who found the treaty in the Archives of the *Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, Vol. I, p. 189 translated some more clauses in his *Report*.[16] The same clauses are inserted in his second volume of *The Portuguese in India*.[17] The whole document has never been published. It is found in the *Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim, Volume '*Pazes e Tratados No. 2. Ano de 1715-1746* (these dates are wrong), fol. 2-3. The size of the paper is $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ inches. The writing is clear, though there are some gaps due to the fact that the corners of the papers are worn out, the document being the first of the volume (fol. 1 is missing). It is also partially worm-eaten. The MS. is a copy of the original sent to Goa by Fr. Jerome Xavier himself, whose signature appears at the end of the document. We shall publish first the treaty in Portuguese, as it is found in the Archives, and then an English translation.

The first clause of the treaty discloses Fr. Xavier's influence over the mind of Jahangir. The English had to be banished from the Mughal Empire, and the Portuguese were even allowed to land their artillery at Surat in case his enemies should settle in that city. This was the cyclopic wall Sir Thomas Roe's diplomacy had to batter down a few months later. During his stay at the Mughal court four English ships arrived at Swally after having set on fire a Portuguese galleon bound for Goa.[18] Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan, was evidently inclined to favour the English against the pretensions of the Portuguese;[19] and he made, as Viceroy of Gujrat, some concessions to them, which nevertheless were shortly afterwards withdrawn.[20] Roe himself was not predisposed against the Portuguese. One of the articles of the treaty of peace he proposed to Jahangir reads as follows:—" That the Portuguese may come into this peace within six months; or if they refuse, the English to be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them."[21] Some time after he " sent for a Portuguese Jesuit residing at the Court (most likely Fr. Jerome Xavier) . . . offering a peace upon equal terms."[22] Anyhow the weak character of Jahangir, who was so easily influenced by Xavier after his attack of rage, was again inclined to favour the English after his intercourse with Roe, and he even proposed to the English Ambassador to be the intermediary

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13 Faria y Sousa, o.c., p. 257.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 265.
15 *Ibid*, pp. 265-6.
16 Danvers, *Report*, pp. 25-6.
17 Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, pp. 173-4.
18 *Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage*, l.c., pp. 18-9.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

between him and the Portuguese. "The King," says Roe himself, "said he would take upon him to conclude a peace between us and the Portuguese."[23]

As regards the Dutch, the Portuguese treaty with Jahangir was equally exclusive. In fact the Dutch were then more powerful in the East than the English. They had been and were still the nightmare of the Portuguese in Southern India, where they remained in possession of the fortress of Pulicat in spite of the efforts of the Portuguese Viceroy and his friendship with the Vijayanagara Emperor.[24] Naturally the Goa authorities were afraid of having such a powerful enemy in the northern seas. Hence the first clause of the treaty referred to both English and Dutch. Precisely some months later, in November 1616, Roe announces to the East India Company the arrival of a Dutch fleet at Surat. "The Dutch are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea, with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. They come on the same ground we stand on; fear of their ships, against which I suppose you will not warrant the subjects of this King. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both."[25]

Another article of this treaty speaks of the compensation given by the Portuguese to Jahangir and his mother for the capture of her ship returning from Mekka. The document speaks of one ship only, as all the other sources, excepting Jahangir's *Memoirs* that mention four ships. The incident is evidently exaggerated by the enraged Emperor. This article was not published by Danvers.

Another of the articles refers to the Malabar pirates. They had been famous from the times of Marco Polo, who gives an interesting account of their evil doings.[26] From those early days piracy was hereditary in the Malabar Coast.[27] At the time of the settling of this treaty the Malabar pirates were the terror not only of the Portuguese but also of the English.[28]

The last paragraph of the treaty has never been published. The Nawab there spoken of is Muqarrab Khan. It seems that Fr. Jerome Xavier had also gone to Surat from the Court while negotiations were going on, for he saw the original there before it was sent to Cambay. The other articles of the treaty were published by Danvers, who nevertheless omitted several phrases and details in all of them, a thing that recommends very little his critical qualities and flair.

23 *Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage*, l.c., p. 43.
24 *Cf.* Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 451-63.
25 *Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage*, l.c., p. 51.
26 Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, pp. 389-90.
27 *Cf.* Biddulph, *The pirates of Malabar*, pp. 69-82.
28 Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 125, 128, 129, 139, etc.

**Copia dos capitollos das Pazes q̃ se fiz (erãe) (en)tre os Vassallos delRey Jahanguir, E os Portuguezes por Nauabo Mucanebshan, E Goncalo Pinto da fonceca per comissão q̃ pª isso tem de seus Principes.**

Porquanto se tem entendido ˜ os Inglezes, E. Hollandezes com capa de mercadores Vem a estas partes pª nellas fazerem assento, E. conquistarẽ trªs em q̃ se estendão; por Viuerẽ na Europa apretados, E po(br)es, E sua Vezinhassa na India seria de muito dano a todos, como ja o tp̃o tem mostrado na occasião de guerra q̃ derão entre mogolles, E Portugueze(s). Assentarão os ditos deputados das pazes q̃ elRey Jahanguir, E o VRey do estado da India não terão Comercio algũ com as ditas nações, nem em seus Portos serão recolhidos, nem prouidos de mantimentos, nem de outra algũa cousa : antes o VRey, E so q̃ lhe soçederẽ serão obrigados a deitallos do Mar do Guzarate dentro em trez mezes contados do dia q̃ a elle chegarem, E aconteçendo q̃ se mettão no poçe de Surrate como fizerão este anno, Da o dito Rey licenca pª os Portuguezes desembarcarẽ em trª a artelharia necessaria pª os baterẽ, E tirarẽ daly; E daratodo mais fauor q̃ pª. isso for necessario; E os Inglezes q̃ de pzente estão nas terras, E (se)nhorios do dito Rey se sahirão com as fazendas q̃ oie tẽ por Via de Massulapatão.

(It)em. q̃ por bem da paz E (concor)dia so porão em esquecimento os desgostos, pd(as) E danos q p(o)r mar e tr.ª reçeberão Mogolles, E Portuguezes, E outr(os) Vassallos de parte a parte por causa da Guerra q̃ ate agora durou. Ja mais se p(u)der pedir, nem tomar algũa satisfação por (ar)mas, ne(m) sem ellas, E hoje em diante continuarão em sua atigua amiza(de) E Comercio (E) os Portuguezes poderão ir liure, E seguramente ( ) E ( )ora (n)os portos E terras (q) elRey (Jahanguir) contratar sem algũ impedimento, E da mesma maneira o poderão faz(er) os Vassallos do dito Rey nos portos, E terras delRey de Portugal.

Item. q ElRey Jahanguir mandara pôr em liberdade todos os Vassallos delRey de Portugal, q se acharem captiuos em suas terras, E não forem tornados mouros; E da mesma maneira o VRey do estado da India mandara soltar E por em liberdade todos os Vassallos delRey Jahanguir q̃ os Portuguezes tiuerẽ captiuos não sendo feito christãos.

Item. q̃ das fazendas dos Vassallos delRey de Portugal que estão rettidos nos Reinos delRey Jahanguir podera elle mandar tomar septenta mil xᵉˢ em satisfação do (C)oral q̃ se tomou na nao q̃ Vinha de Mequa, E o resto das ditas fazendas, mandara restituir inteiramente a seus donos, aos quaes o VRey da India mandara satisfazer os ditos septenta mil xᵉˢ.

(It)em. q̃ o VRey da India dara dous cartazes repartidos por dous annos somente p duas naos irem de Surrate pª mequa forras de ditºˢ e q̃ se entendera alem do cartaz ordinario q em cada hũ anno se custuma dar por outro contrato pª hũa nao fazer a dita Viagem; E assy dara mais por hũa Vez somente dous cartazes pª duas naos forras de ditºˢ irem de Surrate a Ormuz pagando porem em Ormuz os ditºˢ q̃ naquella Alfandega se custumão pagar; E assy dara mais o VRey

a Rainha may delRey hũ casco de hũa nao Vazio, Em sati(sf)ação doutro q̃ os soldados lhe queimarão em Goga.

(Item). (q) (por) os mallauares serem piratas q̃ Viuem de furtar não serão recolhidos (nos) (por)tos dambos os Reys, E q̃ entrando nelles serão entregues, ou sera licito (p.ᵃ) (os) Portuguezes entrar nos portos, E rios onde os mallauares estiuerẽ, E (deital)los sem psᵃ algũa os deffender, nem se auerẽ por isso estas pazes por (quebra)das.

(Item). (q) ( ) senão en(ten)dera auer alteraçã(o) (a)lgũa no dito q elRey (de) Portugal tem (re)querido de lhe pagarẽ ditos na Alfandega de Dio, as naos E embarcações (q) custumão naVegar com fazendas pella ençeada de Cambaja: antes lhe fica(rem) todo seu direito neste particular saluo, E inteiro assy como dantes o t(in)ha sem mais obrigação q̃ de hũ cartaz cada anno pᵃ hũa nao ir de(e) Surrate a Mequa forra de ditos, E os quatro cartazes q por hũa Vez (so)mente por este contrato se promittem.

E com estas con(di)coes acima, E atras referidas o dito Nauabo em nome delRey Jaha(n)guir, E o dito Gonçalo Pinto da fonçeca em nome do VRey da India cada (h)ũ pella comissão, E poderes q̃ tem ouuerão por feitas, E acabadas as pa(z)es entre o dito Rey, E elRey de Portugal, E seu VRey, E Vassallos dam(b)as as partes pᵃ doje em diante se poderẽ tratar, E a Ver como Verdadeiro(s) amigos entrando e sahindo segura, E liuremente com suas psᵃˢ (E) fazendas pellas terras dos ditos Reys; ordenando q̃ logo fossem estas pazes publicadas pᵃ Virẽ a noticia de todos obrigandose o dito Nauabo (q̃) dentro em cinquoenta dias auer confirmação dellas p hũ formão delRey Jahanguir, E obrigandose o dito Gonçalo Pinto da fonçeca q̃ dentro do dito termo aueria confirmação dellas p hũa prouisão do VRey da India Dom Hieronimo d Azeuedo, E de como assy o assentarão, E promett(e)rão mandarão fazer estes capitollos de pazes em q̃ se assinarão (E) pozerão suas chapas em septe de Junho do anno de mil seisçentos, E quinje.

Conforma co(m) o original q̃ se mandou a Cambaya pello qual (s)e apregoarão aly as pazes.

\+
Jeroᵒ. Xauier — Gᵒ. PINTO DA F(ONÇECA).

**Copy of the articles of the treaties of peace which were signed between the subjects of H. M. Jahangir and the Portuguese, by the Nawab Mucanebxhan and Goncalo Pinto da Fonseca, by virtue of the powers delegated to them for this purpose by their Lords.**

Whereas it is understood that the British and the Dutch, under the cloak of merchants, come to these parts to settle in them and to conquer lands therein, owing to their living in Europe in distress and poverty; and whereas their presence in India will be detrimental to all, as time has now shown during the occasion of war that resulted between the Moguls and the Portuguese: The said Ambassadors of Peace settled that H. M. Jahangir and the Viceroy

of the State of India will not engage in any trade with the said nations; neither will they be sheltered in their ports, nor be supplied with provisions, nor with any other things, but the Viceroy, and those that may succeed him, will be obliged to banish them out from the sea of Guzerat within a period of three months from the date they arrive in it; and if it happens that they ever capture Surat, as actually did this year, the said King grants license to the Portuguese to land artillery that is necessary to fight them and clear them out from there; and he will give all help that may be necessary for this; and that the British that are at present in the territories and dominions of the said King shall leave, with the goods they possess, by way of Masulipatan.

*Item.*—That for the sake of peace and harmony, the Moguls and the Portuguese and other subjects of both parts will try to forget all the disgusts, losses and damages which they have experienced by land and sea, owing to the war that lasted till now. That they will not make any further request, neither they will demand any satisfaction by aid of arms or without them; and that hereafter they will carry on their ancient friendship and trade, and that the Portuguese will be allowed to go free and safely . . . . . . . into the ports and territories which H. M. Jahangir may acquire in future, without any hindrance; and that in the same way the subjects of the said King will be allowed to go in the ports and territories of H. M. the King of Portugal.

*Item.*—That H. M. Jahangir will order to be set at liberty all the subjects of H. M. the King of Portugal that may be found captive in his territories and may not have become Mahomedans; and in the same way the Viceroy of the State of India will order to release and set at liberty all the subjects of H. M. Jahangir that the Portuguese may have as captives, who have not become Christians.

*Item.*—That out of the goods of the subjects of H. M. the King of Portugal that are retained in the kingdoms of H. M. Jahangir, he (Jahangir) will be allowed to take seventy thousand xerafins in compensation for the Coral which was taken from the ship that had come from Mekka; and the residue of the said goods he will order to be returned to their owners, to whom the Viceroy of India will give the compensation of the said seventy thousand xerafins.

*Item.*—That the Viceroy of India will grant for two years only two passes for two ships, to go from Surat to Mekka free of duties, in addition to the usual pass which every year is regularly given by the other contract for one ship to make the said voyage; and likewise he will give once again two passes only for two ships free of duties to go from Surat to Ormuz, paying however at Ormuz the duties in the Customs which they are used to pay; and also the Viceroy will give to the Queen Mother of H. M. one keel of an empty ship in compensation of the other which the soldiers have burnt at Goga.

*Item.*—That the Malavares, being pirates who live by robbing, will not be given shelter in the ports of either of the Kings; and those who enter the ports) will be handed over; or it will be lawful for the Portuguese to enter into

the ports and rivers wherein the Malavares are to be found, and to turn them out without being impeded by any person, and without this treaty being considered broken on that account.

*Item.*—That . . . . . . . . . it must be understood that there is no alteration in the right, which H. M. the King of Portugal, has asked for, *viz.* that the ships shall pay him the duties in the Customs of Dio, as well as any other vessels that are accustomed to sail with cargoes by the gulf of Cambay; on the contrary he shall retain his right in these matters whole and entire, in the way he had it before, without any obligation; that is, one pass annually for one ship to go from Surat to Mekka free of duties and the four passes that are allowed by this contract once only.

And with these conditions referred to above and before, the said Nawab, in the name of H. M. Jahangir, and the said Goncalo Pinto da Fonseca, in the name of the Viceroy of India, each one by the commission and powers that they hold, having done and concluded the treaties between the said King and H. M. the King of Portugal, and his Viceroy and the subjects of both the parties; it follows that in future they will be able to treat and look upon each other as true friends, entering and leaving safely and freely with their persons and belongings throughout the territories of the said Kings. Ordering immediately these treaties to be announced in order to come to the notice of all, the said Nawab undertakes within the period of fifty days to obtain their confirmation by a firman of H. M. Jahangir; and the said Goncalo Pinto da Fonseca undertakes that within the said period that there shall be a confirmation of them by a provision of the Viceroy of India, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo. And in the manner they have been settled and promised they order these articles of peace to be made, in which they signed and attached their seals on the seventh of June of the year one thousand six hundred and fifteen.

In accordance with the original which is sent to Cambay by which the treaties were announced there.

Jero°. Xavier.

Pinto da Fonseca.

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## First Limited Liability Bank in India.

(By H. Sinha, M.A.)

The first bank on European lines established in India was the Bank of Hindostan, started in 1770 by Messrs. Alexander & Co., one of the leading Agency Houses of the time. Although not so well known, the only private bank of the eighteenth century unconnected with any Agency house, *viz.*, the Bengal Bank, has also been referred to by a few writers on Indian banking

history. But no mention has been made of the earliest limited liability bank in India. Only the name of this bank has found a place in some of the previous accounts of the subject. But there are many interesting facts in the history of this bank to be found in contemporary state records and newspapers, some of which are described below. It will be seen that the bank was only one step in advance of private partnerships of the time, the number of shareholders being strictly limited; shares being of very high value; and original subscribers having some preferential rights denied to subsequent holders. Persons holding substantial shares alone could hold responsible offices and even then they had to be sworn in to a faithful discharge of their duties.

*Reason for its establishment.*

It may be asked why a hybrid between a limited liability corporation and a private partnership like this had to be established, although there were then two private banks in existence. The reason is that the latter proved insufficient to meet the banking needs of the country in those difficult times. Although Hastings had tried his best to improve Bengal finances by a series of administrative reforms, he left the province in great financial embarrassment. The position is described by Cornwallis in two despatches to the Court of Directors sent shortly after his assumption of office. In his letter dated November 13, 1786, he referred to the heavy discount on Company's paper. In his second despatch written about a month later, he clearly explained that "while the unavoidable expenses of the establishments, the interests due upon the debts,[1] and the demand from the other presidencies, absorbed the produce of the revenue, considerable investment could only be made by fresh issues of paper, by which mode the evil might be protracted, but would only be ultimately increased."

*"Plan" of the bank.*

The inevitable result of this constant borrowing to cover the deficit was a heavy discount on Government securities, *viz.*, about 25%, and a rise in the money rate to the maximum allowed by law.[2] The distress was so great that the leading merchants of Calcutta held a meeting on March 17, 1786 and floated a bank under the name and style of the General Bank of India. A provisional "plan" was drawn up at the meeting and published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 8, 1786. This was finally incorporated into a deed which is still to be found among the state records of the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.[3] This is a remarkable document, being the first of its kind, for there was no joint stock bank with limited liability before this, either in India

[1] The debt was Rs. 6,24 lacs, carrying interest @8¾%.
[2] By the Regulation dated March 28, 1780, 24% per annum was declared to be the maximum legal rate of interest when the principal did not exceed Rs. 100, and 12% when the principal exceeded Rs. 100.
[3] O. C., 3 January, 1787, No. 48

or in England, except the Bank of England which was incorporated under a Royal Charter dated July 27, 1694, and subsequently renewed from time to time.

### *The Articles.*

Some of the articles are quoted below to indicate the nature of the "plan":—

"*Article 1.*—The Bank to consist of 100 subscribers of 20,000 *sicca* rupees[4] each . . . . . . .

"*Article 3.*—Each share to be divided into portions of 5,000 rupees; but the owners of these portions shall not be entitled to a vote, unless they hold four of them: Yet original subscribers shall preserve their vote as long as they retain two.

"*Article 6.*—The Directors, Cashier, Secretary and Accountant shall be sworn to a faithful discharge of their trust before any of the Judges.

"*Article 8.*—The subscribers shall be liable to no risk or claim beyond the amount of their subscription.

"*Article 18.*—No person shall be allowed to overdraw his account."

### *Other provisions.*

This "plan" is followed by other provisions at the end of the deed:—

" . . . . . . the assignee or assignees of such share or shares to be assigned or transferred, and sold, shall either by himself or themselves or his, or their Attorney or Agent, lawfully authorised, sign, seal and execute the present Deed, at the bottom thereof, or by indorsement on the back hereof . . . .

"Cashier and Secretary shall respectively be subscribers . . . . . . to the amount of twenty thousand *sicca* rupees . . . . .

" . . . . . . the proper and necessary books of receipts, payments, accounts of money, and other transactions of the Bank . . . . . . . . to be laid before the subscribers at large . . . . . . at every General Meeting . . . .

" . . . . . in order that the public may be fully informed of the terms on which the said Society deal with them, in all the notes issued by the said Society, it shall be expressed, that the sum to be payable by such note shall be paid out of the joint stock of the said Society . . . . . ."

### *Form of notes.*

This purpose is served now by adding the word "limited" to the name of a Company. The circumlocution necessary in those times will appear from

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[4] The word *sicca* is derived from the Arabic word *sikka*, meaning a "die." *Sicca* rupee means newly coined silver rupee of the Mughal Emperors struck in Bengal and was in *theory* the standard currency of the country.

the following note form, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 25, 1786:—

> No. Calcutta 17
>
> I promise to pay out of the Joint Stock of the General Bank of India to————————or order,[5] on demand, the sum of Sicca Rupees————.
>
> For the Directors and Proprietors of
> the General Bank of India
> WM. LUARD, Cashier.
>
> Entd. A. MAIR, Register
> D. G. B. I.

*First half-yearly report.*

The Bank met with immediate success. The first half-yearly report is extracted below from the *Calcutta Gazette* of December 7, 1786.

" State of the Profits of the General Bank of India from the 1st of June to the 30th of November, 1786:—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| " Discount &c., &c. . . . . . | 2,01,052 | 2 | 8 |
| Deduct Sundry Expenses . . . | 28,296 | 9 | 0 |
| Nett Profit S. Rs. . . . . . . | 1,72,755 | 9 | 8 |
| Or Current Rupees[6] . . . . . | 2,00,396 | 8 | 0 |
| Which divided into 100 shares of Sicca Rupees 20,000 each gives a dividend on the full share of S. Rs. . . . . | 1,727 | 8 | 9 |
| On ¾ . . . . . . . . . . | 1,295 | 10 | 8 |
| On ½ . . . . . . . . . . | 863 | 12 | 4 |
| On ¼ . . . . . . . . . . | 421 | 14 | 2 " |

[5] Notes issued by the Bengal Bank, a private bank of the time were made out to "bearer." See Cooke's *Rise, Progress and Present Conditions of Banking in India* (Calcutta, 1863), p. 391.

[6] *Current* rupees were not actual coins. They formed the money of account, 100 *Sicca* rupees being regarded as equivalent to 116 *Current* rupees.

*Reasons for success.*

This success of the bank enabled it to secure Government recognition for its notes, although the Court of Directors were definitely against any arrangement of this nature.[7] There was a strongly worded protest by the Bengal Bank, but Cornwallis refused to reconsider his decision.[8] Besides this state patronage, there were other factors which contributed to the success of the General Bank. Although it had no branches, it arranged for financing the *mofussil* stations by a system described in the *Calcutta Gazette* of June 11, 1789. It put down with an iron hand all corruption, which was rampant at the time even in public services among high officials. A clerk caught in the act of receiving a customary perquisite was summarily dismissed and the fact published in English and different vernaculars in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 17, 1788. To guard against any improper inducement being offered to expedite matters, the bank undertook to answer tenders of bills and notes for discount on the same day if handed in before 1 o'clock.[9] Above all, the bank took a leading part in all public affairs, whether in raising money for famine relief[10] or in promoting public lectures on technical subjects.[11] The result was that it was easily the premier bank of the time. The discount rate could be lowered to 10% with effect from November 1, 1788, and further reduced to 9% on October 6, 1789. There was in consequence a steady appreciation of Government Securities until in October 1, 1789, it was announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* as a momentous event that the Company's bonds had changed hands at par the previous day.

*Withdrawal of Government patronage.*

The reduction in the discount rate, however, diminished the income of the General Bank which had dwindling profits.[12] The Government refused to

[7] This is clearly set forth in paragraph 11 of the letter from Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated September 7, 1789, in which Cornwallis justified his departure from the well-established usage.

[8] O. C. 17 January 1787, No. 15. See author's *Early European Banking in India*, pp. 40-42.

[9] *Calcutta Gazette*, July 5, 1788.

[10] See *Calcutta Gazette* of July 10, 1788, which gives a graphic account of the relief operations in connection with the famine of 1788.

[11] See the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 20, 1788, which contains an advertisement for the sale of tickets at General Bank of India for a public lecture on "Experimental Philosophy" commencing with the "Experiments of the Leyden Phial and Electric Battery."

[12] This will appear from the following table compiled from the Profit and Loss Accounts published in the *Calcutta Gazette* from time to time.

| Half-year. | From | To | Interest, Discounts, etc. (Current Rs.) | Expenses. (Current Rs.) | Balance. (Current Rs.) | Date when the report was published in the *Calcutta Gazette*. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First | June 1, 1786 | Nov. 30, 1786 | 2,33,220 0 1 | 32,823 8 1 | 2,00,396 8 0 | Dec. 7, 1786 |
| Second | Dec. 1, 1786 | May 31, 1787 | 1,58,067 12 9 | 52,583 8 5 | 1,05,484 4 4 | June 14, 1787 |
| Third | June 1, 1787 | Nov. 30, 1787 | 2,01,942 7 7 | 41,746 7 8 | 1,60,195 15 11 | Dec. 6, 1787 |
| Fourth | Dec. 1, 1787 | May 31, 1788 | 1,93,894 15 1 | 36,295 8 8 | 1,57,599 6 5 | June 5, 1788 |
| Fifth | June 1, 1788 | Nov. 30, 1788 | 1,83,972 1 3 | 35,011 8 0 | 1,48,960 9 3 | Dec. 4, 1788 |
| Sixth | Dec. 1, 1788 | May 31, 1789 | 1,66,477 11 8 | 30,710 9 9 | 1,35,767 1 11 | June 4, 1789 |
| Seventh | June 1, 1789 | Nov. 30, 1789 | 1,33,600 0 8 | 31,896 7 11 | 1,01,703 8 9 | Dec. 3, 1789 |
| Eighth | Dec. 1, 1789 | May 31, 1790 | 1,26,620 13 0 | 26,284 4 7 | 1,00,336 8 5 | June 3, 1790 |

recognise its notes after September 30, 1788, by a notification published in the *Calcutta Gazette* to that effect, for Cornwallis wrongly believed that the circulation of bank notes caused the prevailing discount on gold mohurs in terms of rupees.[13] The last mention of the General Bank in contemporary state papers is on April 24, 1789, when orders were issued for closing the Government account with the bank.

### *Historical parallel.*

There is an interesting historical parallel to this incident. Just as Bengal was the province of greatest commercial activity in India in the latter half of the eighteenth century, so was Holland the most important trading country on the Continent towards the end of the sixteenth century.[14] Foreigners bought in Amsterdam goods brought from all parts of Europe and from the Far East and paid not only for the goods but also for the Dutch shipping. These visible and invisible exports had to be liquidated by the import of coins from all parts of the world in different degrees of debasement. Coins of full weight began to disappear and could be brought out only by a high premium in terms of light coins. The authorities, however, were of opinion that heavier coins were thrown out of circulation by the increasing use of bills of exchange as a substitute for money. Action was therefore taken against deposit banking, which created credit and credit instruments. "By the statute of July 15, 1608, the business of deposit holding was absolutely prohibited, and the receiving and paying out of money for another person, or its transfer by writing or by word of mouth, directly or indirectly was forbidden under a penalty of twenty-five per cent., one half to be levied upon the banker and the other upon the customer. The use of bills of exchange or assignments in making paymnts was forbidden; and everyone was charged to make and receive payments of his own debts or credits by himself or his agents".[15]

### *Winding up of the bank.*

The General Bank remained in a moribund condition after the withdrawal of the state patronage. There was a talk of reorganising the bank after the expiry of the term of five years laid down in the deed. But the long, desultory campaign in the South against Tippoo Sultan was draining Bengal of her re-

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[13] O. C. 8 September, 1788, No. 1. This view was first pressed before the Government in the minute of dissent signed by Mr. C. Cockerel to the report of the Currency Committee appointed by Cornwallis in 1787. See Prof. J. C. Sinha's *Earliest Currency Committee in India*, a paper read at the eighth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

[14] The first modern Bank of India was established in Calcutta and that of Europe in Amsterdam.

[15] Dunbar's *Theory and History of Banking* (2nd Edition), pp. 97-98.

sources. There was such a great scarcity of loanable capital that the Chiefs of the 14 leading Agency Houses of Calcutta of the time sent a long petition to Cornwallis on March 12, 1790, urgently praying for relief.[16] The Government also were obliged to issue short dated Treasury Bills for raising money towards the end of the year.[17] The project for reconstruction of the General Bank therefore failed[18] and the Bank was voluntarily wound up on March 31, 1791. Thus ended the short but eventful career of an institution which had played its part in the Money Market of Calcutta. Born in stress, it had to face financial difficulties throughout its life on account of the long campaign in the South. That it achieved even a moderate amount of success in face of such odds speaks well of its efficiency and organisation.

## "Prince Muhammad Dara Shikoh and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwah."

(By K. R. Qanungo, M.A.)

The life-history of Prince Muhammad Dara Shikoh is a veritable tragedy—a tale of sharp reverses of fortune, pathetic and melancholy. His is a painful story of virtue ensnared by craft, of benefits forgotten and trust betrayed, of perverse Destiny cruelly turning his own arms against himself. This good-natured and enlightened prince strived hard all through his life to revive the traditions of the days of his great-grand-father Akbar in the face of the growing Islamic orthodoxy at the Mughal Court. We recognise in him the princely hero of Jagannath Pandit's charming epic *Jagadabharanam* (The Ornament of the World), the earnest student of the *Upanishads*, the munificent patron of Kavindracharya and a host of other Sanskrit scholars, the catholic-hearted donor to Hindu temples, and the only refuge of the Hindu suppliants at Shah Jahan's Court. He had, indeed, established a fair and legitimate claim upon the loyal support of the Hindus. He thought he could safely rely, like his great-grand-father, upon the valour and fidelity of the Rajput race. The Rajputs however, with the noble exception of the Hada, proved broken reeds to him. The Sisodia belied his proud tradition, the Rathor wavered and broke his pledge, and the Kachhwah, did not stake much

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[16] O. C. 17 March, 1790, No. 20.

[17] *Calcutta Gazette*, November 25, 1790.

[18] Cooke however says in his *Rise, Progress and Present Position of Banking in India* that the Bank was reorganised in May 1791 and the first meeting of proprietors was held on June 1, 1791. No evidence of this can be traced in contemporary records.

for a sentiment. This paper aims at throwing some light upon the conduct of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh Kachhwah during the War of Succession among Shah Jahan's sons by tracing the early relations between him and Prince Dara.

Among the minor characters of the tragedy of this philosopher-prince of the House of Timur, Mirza Rajah Jai Singh figures perhaps the most prominent. He enters the stage, along with Maharajah Jaswant Singh Rathor, as one of the twin pillars of Dara's strength and hope, trusted at a critical moment of the Prince's fortune with a high and responsible command. At first he acts with apparent zeal in the entire interests of Dara, and brings the campaign against Shuja to a successful, though tardy, close. He slackens his efforts after Jaswant's defeat at Dharmat, makes delays in replying to the despatches of Dara and the Emperor, receives friendly letters from Aurangzib, and the moment he hears of Dara's overthrow at Samugarh he makes a clean somersault, showing little compunction either for the unfortunate prince or for the helpless Emperor. If we can believe Manucci who served both under Dara and Jai Singh and knew the latter well, the Mirza Rajah played for sometime the game of hunting with the hound and running with the hare. He advises Sulaiman to fly from his camp and sends at his heels a detachment in pursuit! Then the Rajah joins Aurangzib with almost the whole of the eastern army of Dara, seduced from their allegiance through his efforts, accepts with alacrity the odious commission of killing, capturing or driving Dara beyond the limits of Hindustan. He dissuades, as Manucci alleges, Maharajah Jaswant Singh from joining the forlorn band of Dara assembled at Ajmir, spreads a net of diplomacy to capture Dara, and keeps up a vigorous and keen pursuit, hounding the track of the fugitive prince as far as the sands of Siwistan; yet he was suspected, though without proof, of wilfully letting Dara escape beyond Aurangzib's reach. Such is the Mirza Rajah depicted by the friendly pen of Manucci.

The despatches from Jai Singh to Aurangzib during the pursuit of Dara after the battle of Ajmir (preserved in *Haft Anjuman* ii f. 26—37 a), reveal the Kachhwah chief as a determined enemy of Dara, bearing, as it were, some ancient grudge against that prince. Another collection of private letters and official despatches which passed between Dara and Jai Singh (dating roughly 1642—1658), have been recently discovered by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., among the Archives of the Jaipur Darbar. These letters, however, tell another tale, showing the existence of the most cordial and intimate relation between the two, till the Mirza chose to forsake the sinking wreck of Dara's fortune after the battle of Samugarh. We find therein a studious effort on the part of Dara to draw the Mirza Rajah closer to his person and interests by evincing (close) friendship and readiness to oblige by doing him good services at Court. Before Sulaiman could prattle, Dara writes in one of these letters to Jai Singh: "My little son Sulaiman sends you *salam*!" We give below a few more extracts from them:

Letter No. 31—Dara to Jai Singh; received at the camp of Aurangabad, 24th Safar, 1054 H. (1st April, 1646).

". . . . . . . . . . . . . . ..Received your letter to the Emperor. You have begged about the marriage of Rao Amar Singh's daughter[1] . . . . . . . . As she is reported to be born of your own sister, I wish that if this marriage takes place it is well and good; otherwise if she is of any other mother you may marry her anywhere you like. My desire is that you and your kinsfolk should be connected with my son Sulaiman Shikoh . . . . . . . . (Ms. p. 73).

No. 34—Dara to Jai Singh; received on the 26th April, at Aurangabad 1646

". . . . . . . . . . . Kunwar Ram Singh [eldest son of the Mirza Rajah] came and saw me on the 30th March and on 1st April waited on the Emperor through me. His Majesty graciously put questions and praised him for his proper answers. I spoke for you. Ram Singh is created a *hazari* (zat and sawar) . . . . . . . . "

No. 41 Dara to Jai Singh . . . . . . . received March, 1648.

" . . . . . . . I have reached Kabul by forced marches by order of the Emperor and seen His Majesty . . . . . Kunwar Ram Singh was with the Emperor . . . . . We greatly favour him. This is the first journey of the Kunwar . . . . . . I reported this to His Majesty, and having secured His Majesty's permission for the Kunwar to go home, sent him home from Peshawar . . . . "

No. 39. Dara to Jai Singh dated 29th Zilqada 1064-H. (22nd October 1654), *i.e.*, a year after the siege of Qandahar.

" . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Your letter, full of sincere love and regard carrying the news of the birth of a grandson to you, has reached me. May the coming of the child prove happy and auspicious to you and the father! . . . . . . . . . Another news is that the Emperor is going towards Ajmir and will pass by your home. I shall be a guest of yours. The imperial army has attacked the country of the Maharana [Raj Singh of Mewar].[2] I have been always a well-wisher of the Rana. I intend to make the loyalty and purity of the motive of the Rana known to His Majesty, so that the Rana's country may be saved from damages by the imperial army. . ."

[1] This marriage was consummated, according to Waris (*Padshah nama*, Ms. ii 53) on the 30th March, 1654.

[2] Emperor Jahangir had imposed a condition upon Rana Amar Singh that the Rana and his successors should never repair the fortifications of Chitor. Maharana Raj Singh restored the walls of this fort in violation of this injunction. Shah Jahan sent an army to punish him; the Rana, in fear, solicited the intercession of Prince Dara for securing the Emperor's pardon. His envoys, Rao Ram Chand Chauhan, Raghudas Hada, Sanudas Rathor, and Ganpat Das Purohit, waited upon the Prince Dara on 2nd Zilhijja, 1064H (4th October, 1654); [Waris Ms. ii 73-80].

No. 43. Dara to Jai Singh, written probably in November, 1654.

" . . . . . . . . . A great calamity had befallen the Rana . . . . . . His affair has been settled through great efforts on my part; his territory and honour remain unaffected. Let it be known to the Rajputs to what extent do I wish well of their race, and show them special favour! My perfect good will goes with you!"

No. 47. Dara to Jai Singh, dated Rabius-sani, 1065-H.-February, 1655.

" . . . . . . . . . . . . I was very much alarmed at the news that some wretch inflicted on you a wound with a spear. It gives me great joy to learn that your wound is slight and that the wicked fellow has been killed by you. You must keep me informed about the progress of your recovery, as my innermost heart is deeply concerned about your health. I have several times warned you that your enemies are many and that you should be watchful about your person. It is strange you have been so careless that such an accident could occur twice. After this you ought to be very cautious . . . . . . "

There are some letters written by Dara complaining about the oppression of the Rajah's *gumashtas* in his *jagir*, but there is hardly any thing offending in them. Several letters show that Dara was rather over-anxious to remove the slightest tinge of suspicion and misunderstanding from the mind of the Rajah about his own motive and action. What strikes us most is the cold and inadequate response on the part of the Mirza Rajah to Dara's advances of warm friendship. The following letter of Dara to Jai Singh (written on 9th Zilhijja, year illegible) makes us infer that some suspicion and dislike lingered in the mind of the Rajah . . . . . . . . . " Your letter addressed to Fakhir Khan was shown by the Khan to His Majesty. I am very very much surprised to learn the contents of this letter written by one who has always received special attention from me and whom I count among one of my sincerest well-wishers. I wonder how you could believe in this sort of unreal things on the words of selfish and designing persons who, under the pretence of zeal and friendship, work mischief . . . . . . You have chastised the Badgujar [a Rajput tribe] at the Emperor's command. When did I employ this rebel tribe in my service? I trust you fully——don't believe the false report of enemies. Your son is at Court; write to any one whom you trust to inform you what the Badgujar's name is and when I did engage him. In truth the matter is entirely false . . . . . . . "

Now let us turn to the closing act of the drama. Dara sends the Mirza Rajah as the guardian and Chief of the Staff of Sulaiman Shikoh, who was nominally invested with the supreme command. The Rajah is found making slow marches, more intent on manœuvring out Shuja than inflicting any sudden and decisive blow at the enemy. Sulaiman in a letter (dated 5th December, 1657) writes to the Rajah " . . . . . . . . . I am making short marches only to enable you to join me . . . . . . come quick . . . . . "

Several letters of Dara to the Mirza Rajah also urge rapid marches and fewer halts of the army. The only great and decisive victory (*i.e.*, the battle of Bahadurpur near Benares, 14th February, 1658) in this campaign was gained at the bold initiative of sulaiman Shikoh, though the Mirza Rajah and his followers acquitted themselves well when an action was forced upon them. Dara, however, judiciously lavishes praise and presents upon the Mirza Rajah:

Dara to Jai Singh; dated 20th February, 1658.

" Fakhir Khan arrived on 18 February, 1658, and gave the news of your victory. May God make this victory auspicious to Ala Hazrat Shah Baba [Sulaiman], to Dada Bhai [term of endearment used by Dara to the Mirza Rajah, perhaps on account of his being Sulaiman's uncle-in-law], to me and all the nobles of this daily increasing state! You have delighted the departed spirit of Man Singh . . . "

Dara sends a special sword and shield as *Yadgar* (Memento) to the Rajah, and a reward of Rs. 50,000, and procures a promotion of the Rajah by a thousand zat and 900 troops and of other officers recommended by him [letter to Jai Singh, received on 25th February, 1658]. The following letter shows Dara's anxiety not to give the Rajah any offence or cause of suspicion by the action of Sulaiman. Sulaiman probably wrote something to the court not favourable to the Rajah. Dara writes to the Rajah . . . . . " The news about the other side [Shuja's] included in my son's letters to the Emperor is suspected by His Majesty to be fabricated through malice. It has therefore been written to my son that the news about Shuja should be written by you, so that the Emperor may credit it . . . . . . . " Perhaps Young Sulaiman, eager for action, complained to the Emperor about too many halts made by the Rajah at Jitpur(?), a place somewhere between Mungir and Patna. The Mirza Rajah who was asked to offer an explanation (letter, dated 15th April, 1658). explains the situation in a long letter[1], alleging strange character of the country, strength of the enemy's position, etc. Meanwhile the battle of Dharmat is lost by Jaswant Singh. Dara and the Emperor now cling to the Mirza Rajah as their only support and hope.

Letter No. 28.—Dara to Jai Singh: " In these days the Emperor frequently recalls you, and says ' To-day the Rajah is my chief general and in battle the greatest hope of mine . . . . . . . Work is in him '."

Letter No. 48. Dara to Jai Singh: received on the 16th May, 1658.

" . . . . . . . . . . . Come with Sulaiman Shikoh quickly, as I have a large army but no experienced general . . . . . . . " Dara wrote despatches in succession to the Mirza Rajah ordering him to come only with select troops

[1] This letter is quoted in full at the end as a specimen.

and light kit. He procured the promotion of the Rajah to the rank of the commander of 7,000. The Rajah reached only as far as Korah where the disastrous news of Samugarh broke upon him. The cautious and calculating Kachhwah was easily convinced of the folly of unselfish devotion to the cause of Dara.

With characteristic mercenary logic he now considered himself absolved from all ties of allegiance to Shah Jahan, and of alliance, political and matrimonial, with the unfortunate Dara.

Poor Dara wrote perhaps his last letter to the Rajah from Mathura. It breathes the same noble and kind sentiments of the prince who yet fondly hoped that the Rajah would join him at Delhi and fight his battles. This letter (quoted in full in the appendix) conveys to the Rajah the news of the safety of the Rajah's sons, and of the death of Rustam Khan Firuz Jang and several other nobles.

Was there all love and cordiality between Dara and Jai Singh as the above mentioned extracts seem to indicate?

In truth, had Dara known the art of employing language to conceal his thoughts, Aurangzib might not have so easily snatched away the crown of Hindustan from him. Admitting, however, that the Prince was gracious and sincere in his professions of good will and friendship, how did the Rajah take them? Cold, calculating and shrewd, the Kachhwah chief certainly regarded these little services at Court, congratulations and flattering encomiums as too low a bid for his sword which could possibly hew a way for the Prince to the throne of Delhi. If the all powerful heir apparent who ruled the doting heart of the old Emperor were so generous and true to him, how was it that inspite of his seniority in years and faithful services the Mirza Rajah was kept in the rank of 5,000, while his Rathor rival Jaswant rose to that of 6,000?

Even after the Mirza Rajah's victory over Shuja near Benares, his increased rank was kept lower to that of Jaswant by 100 *sawar*. No personal tie, no solemn pledge of support bound him to Dara. He owed allegiance to Shah Jahan only and when that emperor ceased to be the *de facto* ruler, could any code of honour or dictates of policy urge him to transfer that allegiance to his twice-beaten son?

The conduct of the Mirza Rajah is after all not so inconsistent and inexplicable. He went to fight Shuja as a servant of the Emperor Shah Jahan, sharing almost the feelings of his imperial master to all the princes minus Shah Jahan's partiality for Dara. The long halts and short marches were certainly meant to give time and opportunity to Shuja to retire unmolested, as Shah Jahan heartily desired, while Dara in his anger and impatience would have the Rajah take a flight on the wings of Fury for bringing him the head of his rebellious brother! Jai Singh allowed Sulaiman to escape—perhaps Dara, too—as a grateful return for favours he received from them. He perhaps

dissuaded Jaswant Singh from joining Dara because he was convinced of the folly of self-less devotion to such an incapable, though high-souled, prince.

Dara was not always so kind, courteous and friendly to the Mirza Rajah as the letters quoted above would make us believe. There was actually a serious quarrel and estrangement between the two during the siege of Qandahar by Dara. The author of the *Lataif-ul-akhbar* who was present at the siege narrates the following incidents.

(1) During the interview on the 18th Jamada II, 1063 A. H. (6th May, 1653), an unseemly altercation took place between Dara and Jai Singh. The Prince made a taunting remark to the Rajah: "This is the third time that you have come against Qandahar. If you fail this time also what answer will you give to His Majesty, and how will you show your face to the women of Hindustan? In truth women are better than men, who have returned again and again unsuccessful from this place." The Rajah gave a sharp reply, hinting at the incompetence of the prince and returned to his camp in great disgust.

(2) On the 6th Shaaban Jai Singh was sent for and Dara made a very earnest request to him, to make an assault upon the fort, holding out many bright promises. But the Rajah kept a sullen attitude without speaking a word in reply for a considerable time. At last he came away from the Prince's presence, giving him a cold and evasive reply. This attitude he maintained also on subsequent occasions of his interview with the prince.

(3) Dara again summoned the Rajah to a council of war on the 6th Shawwal, 1063 A H. He said to the Rajah "Rajah Jiu, your exertions in the Emperor's business have fallen short of expectation from the beginning. No plea will be heard now. Gird up your loins tightly for storming the fort." Jai Singh, as usual, evaded the issue, protesting loyalty with hollow phrases. Dara in anger said to him, "Your heart and tongue do not seem to agree. What is in your heart, the tongue does not give out, and whatever the tongue utters finds no echo in your heart!" Jai Singh's fearless replies on equal terms displeased the prince who said: "Whether you agree to the proposal of assault or not, I do give order for it, no matter whether you die or conquer the fort."

(4) On the 11th of Shaaban, Dara sent to the Rajah the following message: "If you do not preserve unanimity in the siege-camp and create confusion and disturbance in the work of the Emperor, you should better go to the front *i.e.*, to Bust in the place of Rustam Khan Firuz Jang who will not grudge the sacrifice of his life and fortune for the Emperor's work."

(5) Jai Singh, having refused to carry out Dara's command to advance his trenches, Dara sent him a sharp order: "As you seem to have no desire to capture this fort, . . . . . . . . . . . . you shall hand over the charge of your battery to Iftikhar Khan, and march to the *Shutar-gardan* pass through which

the enemy contemplates an attack upon the imperial army." The Rajah started for his new post on that very day.

(6) News reached Dara that Jai Singh's men were cutting trees from the gardens of the peasants for fuel, and oppressing them. On the 25th Shawwal Dara sent Shaham Quli to the Rajah with the following message: "I hear you are oppressing the people and cutting trees from their gardens. *Had you displayed such energy* while you were posted beneath the walls of Qandahar, you could have by this time captured this fort by destroying all its walls!" The Mirza Rajah replied: " . . . . . . . . . Fortunately within two or three *kos* of my encampment there are no gardens from which my men were likely to gather fuel by cutting trees!" The messenger also reported that in the neighbourhood of the Rajah's camp no garden could be seen, and that the person who gave such an information must have told a lie . . . .

(7) On the 1st Ziqada, Dara wrote a letter to the Rajah: "I intend to make another assault upon the fort on the 4th of this month. So you should with your troops be present here on that day:" Jai Singh sent a curt reply: "The assault cannot be made by me. Your Royal Highness may inflict any punishment for this fault of mine. *I have no more business with Qandahar.* On the day of return march I shall go to the presence."

Read in the light of these facts, the conduct of the Rajah during the War of Succession appears not altogether strange and unjustifiable. The proud and sensitive Rajput rather exercised moderation in revenge than otherwise. The Rajah cannot be blamed for refusing to risk the lives and fortunes of his followers in the desperate cause of a prince who proved himself unworthy of his birth-right.

As specimen of official correspondence of the Mughal Court one letter of the Mirza Rajah Jai Singh to Dara explaining his long halt at Jitpur (?) and another, perhaps the last letter written by Dara to Jai Singh, are appended herewith.

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شاه بلند اقبال از آگره

عرضداشت که از قرار بتاریخ ۶ شعبان سنه ۱۰۶۸ع کز سیّد مظفر بخدمت نواب قدسي القاب ابلاغ نموده انکه عرضداشت کمترین بنده های درست اعتقاد جی سنگهه مراسم تسلیمات و بندگي و غلامي بجا آورده بعرض باریافتگان بارگاه نواب قدسي القاب جهانباني و کشور ستاني صاحب عالم عالمیان بادشاهزاده جهان و جهانباني میرساند که نشان والا شاني که بنام این خانه زاد صادر شده بود بتاریخ دویم شعبان پرتو ورود افگند آداب استقبال و تسلیمات بجاي آورده - امر عالي صادر شده بود - در چیت پور و همان نواح مقام بسیارے شده ظن غالب این بود که خواه از راهے که زمینداران مقرّر

نموده بودند خواه از راه راست دیوار را ازدست مردم شکست خواجه حق ناشناسي هزیمت یافته گرفته قلعه مونگیر هم مسخر و مفتوح شده باشد بهر حال تاامروز بهر راے که مناسب باشد روانه پیش شده بانکه مونگیر رسیده کار را پیش برده بموجب حکم جهان مطاع تا گذهی به تصرف در آورده باشد - شاه عالم سلامت درباب مقام ها چیت پور که حکم شده خالي از مصلحت نبود چون این خانه زادان ازین ملك وراهاي و سرزمینهاے واقف نبودند بنابرین کسان بطلب زمینداران رفته بودند که انها آمده راهبري نمایند و بجهت رسیدن شان توقف ضرور بود از طرف راه راست دیوار کشیده و خندق عمیق و توپخانه چیده راه را مسدود ساخته بودند رفیق لشکر ظفر اثر از این راه صعوبت داشت و مردم بسیارے ضائع مي شدند و بیشتر از این نیز قلعه مونگیر بود که عرصهٔ سه سال دراستحکام آن پوشیده بودند بنابرین بهم رسادیده راه دیگر ضرور شد بعد آزانکه زمینداران فراهم آمدند وراه دیگر تحقیق نموده شده ظاهر گردید که دراین موسم ابها بسیار کم شده به لشکر ظفر اثر کفایت نخواهد کرد و دفع دلا جنگل صعب هم دارد که بغیر از جنگل بري راه لشکر ظفر اثر نخواهد شد و باوجود این صعوبت ها احتیار این راي نموده که مدبر سکرر کسان بادشاهزاده حق نا شناسي آمده اظهار معذرت نمود بگذاشتن مونگیر و توابع آن راضي شدند چون حقیقت هردو ره هاے براین متصل بود که معروض داشته لهذا راي این خانه زاد و بهادر خان براین قرار گرفت که چون برسات رسیده مي آید و کاري که باید مدت طویل فیصل یابد بر حسن سعي دولت خواهان به توجه احسن صورت مي یابد ایشان بگذاشتن آن راضي شده بنا بر این در این باب ایستادگي نمودن گنجایش نداشت وحکمي هم در این مدت میرسد بجهت استخلاص مونگیر بود از این جهت رایهاے بر این قرار گرفت که بهر طریق باشد ایشان را باید از مونگیر و توابع آن بدر کرد و از مضمون فرمان عالیشان نیز همین مطلب ظاهر میگردد بنابران جرات نموده بدین طریق فیصل داده میشود آمدن جان بیگ بملازمت نواب شاهزاده جیو و گذرانیدن عرضداشت ایشان و دیگر مقدمه - از قابع یقین که بعرض خواهد رسید لهذا زیاده بعرض آن نپرداخت زیاده چه عرض نماید واجب بود به عرض رسانید فقط

نقل عرضداشت مهاراجه جیو به شاه بلند اقبال که بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر شوال سنه ۱۰۶۸ بمقام اکبر آباد بر رسیده

هوالقادر

از شاه بلند اقبال ۱۴ رمضان سنه ۱۰۶۸ هجري

عمدة را جهاے نامدار زبده درلتخواهان عالیمقدار عرصه العلاقه القاهرة رکن السلطنه بهرة شیر بیشه دلاوري و دلیري هز بر معرکه شهامت و شیري جهن گریکان رفادار سالار یکجهتان حق گذار منظور

آن نطار عنايات شاهنشاهي مورد عواطف بيكران، بادشاهي ميرزا راجه جي سنگهه موفور موجبات
به غايات سلطاني مخصوص بوده بداند که امروز که يکشنبه شانزدهم شهر حال است يکي روز مانده
نشان عاليشان فرخنده عنوان صاحب و قبله دو جهاني رسيد و درون مندرج بود که ما به متهرا رسيديم
و تا حال بيست و پنجهزار سوار همراه ما آمده يکجا شده اند و از بندهاي بادشاهي را و ستر
سال و رستم خان بکار آمدند و کنوار رام سنگهه و ابراهيم خان و سربلند خان و ديگر تمامي بنده
هاے بادشاهي که روز جنگ همراه بودند هميشه همراه ما اند لهذا امر عالي متعالي صادر ميشود که
خاطر آن عمد ها دولتخواهان درست اخلاص از طرف کنور رام سنگهه جمع باد که زنده و سلامت
در خدمت حضرت است و کيرات سنگهه که از وطن روانه شده بود او را نيز صاحب و قبله حقيقي
در خدمت خود طلبيده اند - عنايات خاص ما را درباره خود روز افزون شناسند

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## Hindoos in Armenia, 150 years before Christ.

### (An unknown chapter in the history of ancient India).

(By Mesrovb J. Seth. M.R.A.S.)

It may not be generally known that the Armenians—Sons of a noble but an ill-fated fatherland—whose love of commerce has been proverbial, have, from time immemorial, traded with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins and precious stones, which they carried on successfully with Europe by the overland route, through Afghanistan, Persia, and Armenia, *viâ* Trebizond, long before the advent of any European traders, adventurers and interlopers into the country. And it may be safely mentioned that even before the Muhammadan invasion of India in the 10th century, the Armenians were found at all the principal commercial centres and capitals of India engaged in the peaceful pursuit of commerce.

It would be interesting however, from a historical point of view, to trace in what period of the world's history Armenians first set foot on Indian soil.[1]

We search in vain the faded pages of Sanskrit writers and Muhammadan chroniclers of ancient times for any reference to this enterprising, commercial people in India. They were hardly interested in politics, and rarely took

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[1] For a fuller account of the advent of the Armenians into this country see the "History of the Armenians in India" by the present writer.

part in intrigues, their field of action lay, rather, in the bazaars, the commercial marts, and the emporiums of India, over which they exercised vast influence, in the absence of any foreign commercial element, and thereby monopolised the greater portion of the export trade, which they carried on for a considerable period.

The writer ventures to assume, after much careful study and antiquarian research, that they were acquainted with India from remote antiquity, perhaps even when Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, and the warlike queen of the once-powerful Assyrian monarchy, reigned supreme in Babylon. Contemporary as a nation with the Assyrians, it is not improbable that they accompanied Semiramis, as faithful allies, in her invasion of India, which, according to the account given by Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus, was undertaken about the year 2000 B.C., when one Stabrobates (Sthabarpati) held indisputable sway over India of the Vedic times. Armenians, as allies or otherwise, may have accompanied the Greek invasion of India in 327 B.C., under Alexander the Great; for it is a well-known historical fact that he passed through Armenia, *en route* for India, *viâ* Persia, where he defeated the famous Darius, the Persian King, who resided at Persopolis, the capital of unparalleled architectural fame at that period.

But it may be asked, what have the Armenian historians to say on the subject. Unfortunately the annals of ancient Armenia which were carefully preserved in the temples of pre-Christian Armenia and which could have thrown light on the subject, were destroyed entirely, by St. Gregory, the apostle of Armenia, known as the Illuminator, in the beginning of the 4th century of the Christian era when by virtue of a royal edict granted to St. Gregory, by that zealous neophyte, King Tiridates, Armenia embraced the Christian faith *en masse*, and the Armenians thus became the *first* Christian nation in the world.

The *first* authentic record we have of the connection of the Armenians with India is to be found in the work of Zenob, one of the earliest classical writers who flourished in Christian Armenia in the beginning of the 4th century.

Zenob, or Zenobias, who was a Syrian and one of the *first* disciples of St. Gregory the Illuminator, wrote, at the instance of his master, a " History of Taron " (an important province in Armenia) and in that work he refers to the history of a Hindoo colony that had existed in Armenia since the middle of the second century before the commencement of the Christian era till the beginning of the 4th century, A.D., or a period of 450 years. And this is how the Hindoo colony came to be planted on Armenian soil in the days of remote

antiquity. It appears from Zenob's account that two Hindoo princes of far-famed Kanauj,[1] named Gisaneh and Demeter, had conspired against Dinakspall, the King of Kanauj, and on the discovery of the plot, which spelt death for the two princes, they had no alternative but to seek refuge in flight, and to far-off Armenia they fled, and there they not only found an asylum, but were accorded a welcome be-fitting their princely dignity by their royal patron, king Valarsaces (a brother of Arsaces the Great) and the founder of the Arsacidae dynasty which ruled in Armenia from 149 B.C. to 428 A.D. This event occurred in 149 B.C. The Armenian King, who was evidently pleased with the Hindoo refugees, allotted them the province of Taron where they built themselves a nice city which they called Veeshap, which in Armenian means a Dragon, since they were of the Takshak House, which, as every student of Hindoo Mythology knows, signifies the Dragon. They then went to the Armenian city of Ashtishat, famous for its temples of the national gods and goddesses of heathen Armenia and there they set up the gods which they had worshipped in India. They were not, however, destined to enjoy a long period of undisturbed peace and freedom in the land of their adoption, for they were, 15 years after their arrival in Armenia, put to death by the king for which no reasons or motives are assigned by the native historian, perhaps they had, as in India, hatched a conspiracy against their royal patron or abused his hospitality, hence the condign punishment meted out to them by the Armenian king. After their death, these two Hindoo princes, were deified by their descendants, for they must have gone to Armenia with their families and a large retinue, as future events will prove. According to the Armenian historian, these two princes left three sons whose names were Kuars, Meghtes and Horean, and the Armenian king, bestowed on them the Government of the colony and the principality of the province of Taron.

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[1] Kanauj, a decayed town of historical interest, is situated on the Kalee Nuddee, a river in the district of Farruckabad, which falls into the Ganges three miles below. It lies 52 miles North-West from Cawnpore. This once-celebrated town, which, according to the Muhammadan historian Feristha, "contained 30,000 shops for the sale of paun (betel-leaf) and 60,000 families of public dancers and singers," is at present an insignificant place, little more than an expanse of ruins. In its palmy days, according to a learned writer, "the circumvallation covered a space of more than thirty miles." So remote is its antiquity, that some relics of its language, found on coins, etc., baffled the skill of that learned oriental scholar and antiquarian, the late Mr. James Prinsep, in his attempts to decipher them; "the characters," he says, "in which their legends are graven being wholly unknown." This town of ancient India has, not unlike Delhi, experienced great vicissitudes, having been taken successively by the Muhammadan invaders. Mahmood of Ghaznee took the town in 1018, and it was attacked by Shahabuddin Muhammad, sovereign of Ghoor, in 1194, when he defeated Jye Chund Ray, the Hindoo king of Kanauj, and overthrew that monarchy. In 1340 it was taken by the tyrant Muhammad, of the house of Tughlak, who "made an excursion towards Kanauj, and put to death the inhabitants of that city and the neighbourhood for many miles round." It fell into the hands of Babar in 1528, and it was here that Humayun, his son and successor, was defeated, in 1540, by his formidable rival, the Afghon Sher Shah, when he was obliged to fly from Hindustan and seek an asylum at the court of Shah Thahmas, the Persian king, who resided at Isapahan, the former capital of Persia.

Kuars built a small city and called it Kuar after his own name. Meghtes similarly built a small city and named it Meghti after himself, whilst Horean built his city in the province of Paloonies and called it Horeans.

Being new to the country, they were evidently not satisfied with the first selection of sites for their habitations, so after some time they resolved amongst themselves to find fresh fields and pastures new, so they went to the mountain called Kharkhi and finding it an ideal place by reason of its beautiful and favourable situation, they built themselves a city where they put up two gods, and named them Gisaneh and Demeter, after their murdered fathers whom they had deified. These Gods were made entirely of brass, the former, according to Zenob, was twelve cubits high and the latter fifteen cubits and the priests that were appointed for the service of these gods were all Hindoos. Under the auspices of a heathen Government, in whose eyes they had evidently found great favour, the Hindoo colony flourished for a considerable time in Armenia, but with the dawn of Christianity in idolatrous Armenia in the year 301 A.D. the tide of royal kindness began to ebb and ebb very swiftly, for the Indian gods shared the fate of the national gods and goddesses, which were destroyed by that relentless iconoclast, St. Gregory the Illuminator, who had the famous temples of Gisaneh and Demeter razed to the ground, the images broken to pieces whilst the Hindoo priests who offered resistance were murdered on the spot, as faithfully chronicled by Zenob who was an eye-witness of the destruction of the Hindoo temples and the gods. On the site of these two temples, St. Gregory had a monastery erected where he deposited the relics of St. John the Baptist and Athanagineh the martyr which he had brought with him from Ceaseria, and that sacred edifice, which was erected in the year 301 A.D. exists to this day and is known as St. Carapiet of Moosh and has always been a great place of pilgrimage for Armenians from all parts of the world. The Hindoo priests attached to the temples of Gisaneh and Demeter, seeing the destruction of their national gods and their temples, with tears in their eyes entreated the victorious Armenians, their erstwhile brother idolators, to put them to death rather than destroy their mighty god Gisaneh, and for the resistance that they offered to the victors, six of the Hindoo priests were killed on the spot. On the restoration of peace between the Armenians and the Hindoos, the Armenian prince of the House of Suinies proceeded to the Hindoo village of Kuars and succeeded in persuading the inhabitants of that place to renounce idolatry and embrace the Christian faith which had become the state religion. His efforts were crowned with success and they were duly prepared for baptism, and being conducted to the valley of Ayzasan they were baptised there by St. Gregory. According to Zenob, who as I have said, was a disciple of the Apostle of Armenia, and an eye-witness of the events he narrates, the Hindoos that were baptised on the first day of Navasard (the ancient Armenian New Year's day) numbered 5,050 and these were composed of men and children

only, as the females were, it appears, excluded from that number and baptised on another day specially appointed for the occasion.

Some of these converted Hindoos adhered tenaciously to the idolatrous practices of their forefathers, despite the paternal persuasions and the exhortations of St. Gregory. They went even further and taunted the Armenian princes by telling them that if they lived they would retaliate for the harsh treatment they had received at their hands, but if they died, the gods would wreak their vengeance on the Armenians on their behalf. At this the prince of the house of Angegh ordered them to be taken immediately to the city of Phaitakaran where they were incarcerated and their heads shaved as an insult and a sign of degradation. These prisoners numbered four hundred. From the narrative of Zenob, the Syrian, it appears that the Hindoo colony had, since their settlement in Armenia in the year 150 B.C. to the day of that memorable battle in the year 301 A.D. a period of 450 years, multiplied and increased considerably and formed a distinct and an important colony of their own in the fertile province of Taron where in the year 286 A.D. a Chinese colony had also settled under Mamgoon, the founder of the house of Mamikonian which gave a Vardan to Armenia who fought the Sassanians when they wanted to force the religion of Zoroaster on Christian Armenia in the year 451 A.D. The Hindoos, who up to the advent of Christianity in Armenia had remained a distinct community became gradually merged into the native Christian population, as no reference is made to them by any of the Armenian historians who came after Zenob, who, as has been stated before, flourished in the beginning of the 4th century.

Having given a brief out-line of the history of the Hindoo colony in Armenia, I shall now give some interesting extracts from the narrative of Zenob. It may be mentioned that Zenob who was a Syrian wrote his work originally in Syriac, but it must have been translated by him afterwards into Armenian, with Syriac characters of course, as there were no Armenian characters then, for the present Armenian alphabet was invented in the year 413 by St. Mesrovb, who in collaboration with St. Sahak, translated the Holy Bible into Armenian from the original Syriac and Greek texts and which by reason of its faithful rendering and elegant style has justly been pronounced by eminent European savants as the "Queen of all Versions" (Regina Versionum).

The Armenian text of Zenob's work in classical Armenian from which the following extracts are translated, was printed first at Venice in 1832 by the learned Mekhitharist[1] Fathers, after a very careful collation with five manuscript copies written at different periods and in different places. The first portion of the narrative gives a description of the Hindoo colony and it is followed by a graphic account of the religious wars that were waged between

[1] See the "Society of Mekhithar" by the present writer.

the Hindoos and the early propagators of the Christian faith in idolatrous Armenia in the beginning of the 4th century. And this is how Zenob, the Syrian, describes the Hindoos whom he sees for the *first* time on his arrival in Armenia, with St. Gregory the Illuminator, in the year 301 A.D.

" This people had a most extraordinary appearance for they were black, long-haired and unpleasant to the sight, as they were Hindoos by race.

The origin of the idols which were in this place, is this: Demeter and Gisaneh were brothers and were both Indian princes. They had conspired against Dinaksi, their King, who being apprised, sent troops after them either to put them to death or to banish them from the country. Having narrowly escaped, they fled to King Valarsaces who bestowed on them the principality of the district of Taron where they built a city and called it Veeshap.

They afterwards went to the city of Ashtishat and there set up idols in the names of those which they had worshipped in India. After fifteen years the King put both the brothers to death, I do not know why, and conferred the principality on their three sons, Kuar, Meghtes and Horean. Kuar built the city of Kuars, Meghtes built a village on the plain and called it Meghti, and Horean built a village in the province of Paloonies and called it Horeans.

After some time, Kuar, Meghtes and Horean, resolved to go to the mountain called Kharkhi, and they found the place to be salubrious and beautiful, for it was cool, and abounded in game, grass and wood. There they raised edifices and set up two idols, one in the name of Gisaneh and the other in the name of Demeter and appointed attendants for them from their own race.

Gisaneh had long flowing hair and for that reason its Priests allowed the hair of their head to grow, which the king ordered to be cut. This people were not, however, perfect in their faith after their conversion into the Christian faith and as they could not profess the religion of their pagan ancestors openly, they therefore practised the deception of allowing their children to grow a plait of hair on the crown of their heads, so that they may, by seeing that, remember their idolatrous abominations.

In the course of their journey through Armenia, Zenob gives the following account of the war that was waged between the Hindoos and the Armenians in the year 301 A.D.

" And having taken our departure from there (Thordan) we intended to proceed to Karin and Harkh, but some of the Armenian princes informed St. Gregory of the existence of two temples in the province of Taron which still offered sacrifices to the devils, whereupon he resolved to demolish them. Having arrived in the country of the Paloonies, in the extensive village, called Gisaneh, near the village town of Kuars, we met there some of the heathen priests. Having ascertained from the Hindoo prince of Hashtens that the great images of Gisaneh and Demeter were to be levelled to the

ground on the following day, they (Hindoos) repaired to the temples in the dead of the night and removed the treasures and filled them into subterraneous houses.

They then sent intimation to the heathen priests at Ashtishat urging them to collect warriors and join them early on the morrow as the great Gisaneh was going to give battle to the apostate princes (Armenians). In like manner they put up the inhabitants of Kuars to lie in ambush in the hedges of the gardens and some were sent to waylay Christians in the forests. The head priest whose name was Artzan (Arjun) and his son Demeter took the command of the troops who were stationed at Kuars and numbered 400, and having ascended the hill that was opposite Kuars, they halted there, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from other places to their aid. On the following day, they descended to the skirts of the mountains to indulge in their usual habit of pillage. St. Gregory accompanied by the prince of Artzroonies, the prince of Andzevatzies and the prince of the house of Angegh and with a small number of troops numbering about three hundred, ascended the mountain in the third hour of the day, where Artzan lay in ambush. They were going carelessly as they never suspected anything and as they approached the acclivity of the mountain, Artzan and Demeter rushed out of their ambuscade when the trumpets of war were sounded and they were attacked most furiously. The princes having heard this, became restless and alarmed, for their horses took fright from the sound of the trumpets and began to neigh and thus excite war, whereupon the prince of the house of Angegh raised his voice and cried, "Prince of Siunies, step forward and see perhaps these are the troops of the prince of the north." He went, but could not ascertain who they were. On his return, the prince of the Siunies said: "Remove St. Gregory and his companions to a safe place lest they may be captured by the enemy and we will then be disgraced before the King." "Send a trusty person," he added, "to recall our troops, for it is going to be a great war and many are the flags which are seen waving."

The prince of the house of Angegh, then entrusted St. Gregory into the hands of the prince of Mocks enjoining him to take him immediately to the Castle of Oghkan and await developments, and forthwith sent intimation to the troops. The prince of the Mocks, accompanied by St. Gregory descended the declivity of the hill wishing to go to Kuars, but the people of the place began to block the way. Seeing that there was great danger in the place, St. Gregory hid the relics which he had with him near a spring on the other side of the hill, opposite the village, marking the spot and God covered the relics and nobody could see them till the return of St. Gregory to that spot afterwards. We were however pursued by the men of the village, but being mounted on our horses, we took refuge in the Castle of Oghkan where we reached before them as the men of the place came forward and took us in.

The villagers (Hindoos) then went to Kuars and informed the people there about us. Hearing this they came and began to besiege the castle. Being seized with apprehensions, we immediately despatched a messenger with a letter to the prince of the house of Angegh informing him of the state of affairs. He immediately sent four thousand picked men furnished with swords who crossed the river and arrived on the following day. They laid siege to the city of Kuars for three days and having demolished the ramparts, they reduced the place to ruins and the inhabitants were conducted to Meghtes.

The Armenian princes being informed of this, ascended the hill and saw Artzan lying in ambush with about four hundred men. The brave princes made an attack immediately and were putting him to flight when the Armenian troops, hearing the din of the battle, crowded immediately to the mountain, whereupon Artzan rallied and began to hurl abuses on the Armenian princes. "Come forward, he said, O you base apostates who have denied the gods of your ancestors and are the enemies of the glorious Gisaneh. Do you not know that it is Gisaneh who is waging war against you to-day and will betray you into our hands and strike you with blindness and death." At this the prince of the Artzroonies rushed forward and said "Oh you braggart, if you are fighting for your gods, you are false, and if it is for your country, you are altogether foolish, for behold the prince of the house of Angegh and the prince of the house of Siunies and the other nobles whom you know but too well." To which, Demeter, the son of Artzan replied thus "Listen unto us O you Armenian princes, it is now forty years since we are engaged in the service of the mighty gods and we are aware of their powers, for they fight themselves with the enemies of its servants. We are not however able to oppose you in battle for this is the house of the king of Armenia and you are his nobles, but let it be known to you all that although we cannot possibly conquer you, yet it is better for us to die a glorious death to-day in upholding the honour of our gods rather than live and see their temples polluted by you. Death is, therefore, more welcome to us than life. But you, who are the prince of the house of Angegh come forward and let us fight singly."

The prince of the house of Angegh and Artzan having come forward, they commenced going round each other, when Artzan with his spear inflicted hurriedly a wound on his opponent's thigh and well-nigh brought him to the ground. But the prince of the house of Angegh having regained his position, turned towards the antagonist and addressed him thus. "Know you this O Artzan that this place will be called Artzan (the Armenian word for a statue) for you are destined to be fixed here like a statue. And having lifted his arm, he severed his neck together with the left shoulder and leg from the body by a stroke of the sword on the right shoulder. Artzan fell to the ground

rolling and they collected a heap over him and he lies buried in the same place and the mount is to this day called Artzan.

Immediately after the action the troops of the priests arrived from the city of Veeshap together with the people of Partukh and Meghte and they all crowded to the field of battle. Others came from Astaghon also and their number was, as they themselves said afterwards, five thousand four hundred and fifty. When they arrived at the summit of the mountain, there was a commotion on both sides and the heathen priests made an attack, *en masse*, on the Armenian troops and putting them to flight made them descend the mountain and fly towards the villages. The villagers who were lying in ambush, opposed our troops and hemming them on both sides began to put them to the sword. But the prince of the house of Angegh, having cut through the ranks of the heathen (Hindoo) priests, directed his course towards the mountain, from the back, where some men were kept in reserve on the top who caused great havoc by flinging stones at our horses. But when Demeter observed the prince of the house of Angegh ascending the hill, he left the troops behind and followed him, so did the other troops who were mounted on horses.

When they went up the hill, the battle was resumed. Our princes were waiting for further re-inforcements since all the troops had not assembled there yet, as four thousand were left in charge of the prisoners at Meghti and three thousand proceeded to Bassean and Harkh. The rest were still in the field pillaging and marauding. And when they were about to commence the battle and exchange decisive blows, night approached and they encamped in the place until the following morning. At dawn, the remaining Armenian troops arrived there and a re-inforcement of about five hundred men from the city of Tirakatar came to the assistance of the heathen (Hindoo) priests. The numbers on both sides were thus increased. The heathens numbered six thousand, nine hundred and forty-six. Whilst the troops of the Armenian princes were in all five thousand and eighty. The trumpets were sounded and both sides arranged themselves in battle. At the commencement the Armenians proved victorious over the heathens (Hindoos), but the prince of Hashtens who was now in command of the Armenian troops although of the same (Hindoo) race as Demeter, deserted and joined the heathen priests with seven hundred men and commenced fighting the Armenian princes. When the Armenian troops saw him, they were dismayed and fell to the ground for he was a brave man of extraordinary prowess, of indomitable courage and of vast experience in warfare and military operations which made all the Armenian princes tremble before him. He commenced the onslaught relentlessly and all the troops cried out and appealed to the prince of the Siunies for help. Whereupon he called out to him (the Hindoo prince of Hashtens) saying "you whelp of a wolf! you have evidently remembered the nature of your father and delight in feasting on carrion." The rebel chief retorted by

saying tauntingly, "you off-spring of an eagle, you who boast on the powers of your wings, but if you ever fall into my trap, I shall then show you my strength." The prince of the Siunies could not brook this taunt and rushing on him furiously, struck him on the helmet with his axe and having dislodged him from his troops by driving him to some distance, pursued him to the mountain east-wards. Having chased him to the place known as the Innakinan (nine springs) he threw him down by a violent shove from his horse and having alighted, he severed his head from the body and dropped it down the mountain, saying, "Now let the vultures see you and know that the eagle has killed the hare." The prince of the Siunies returned to the army immediately after this and the place where the rebel (Hindoo) prince of Hashtens fell is to this day called the "Eagles."

The prince of the Artzroonies then attacked the head priest of Ashtishat whose name was Metakes whom he pursued to the summit of the mountain which commanded a view of the battle. When he reached there, Metakes made a violent resistance and struck him on the thigh. The Armenian prince, burning with rage, struck him immediately with his scimitar on the neck which he severed from the body. He then threw down the headless body and the place where the deed was committed was called Metsakogh.

The prince of Arjootz (Hindoo) seeing this, took refuge in flight and concealed himself in the same place which the prince of Artzroonies pretended not to have observed. He then approached the fugitive and attacked him suddenly, but he fled into the forest where a sharp piece of wood from the branch of a tree passed through his heart and liver and he died on the spot. The victor returned with the two horses and the place was called the vale of Arjootz.

After his return, he found that Demeter and the prince of the house of Angegh were wrestling with each other. Having made a rush he cut off the right shoulder of the former and threw him down. He then severed the head and throwing it into his knapsack, went away. The Armenians having attacked the heathen army furiously, put one thousand and thirty eight of them to the sword and the rest were stripped of all they possessed. In this battle Demeter killed the son of the prince of Mocks which caused great sorrow amongst the Armenian princes. When Demeter fell in that battle, the prince of the Siunies sounded the trumpet of peace and both sides stopped slaughtering each other. The surviving heathen priests seeing this, solicited the Armenian princes to give them permission to bury their dead which was readily granted. The killed on both sides were then collected and buried in pits dug for the purpose. Monuments were then raised over their graves bearing the following inscription, in Syrian, Hellenic and Ismaelitish characters.

THE FIRST BATTLE WHICH WAS FOUGHT VERY FIERCELY.

ARTZAN THE HEAD PRIEST—THE CHIEF COMMANDER OF THE BATTLE,
LIES INTERRED HERE,

AND WITH HIM ONE THOUSAND AND THIRTY EIGHT MEN.

WE WAGED THIS WAR ON ACCOUNT OF THE IDOL GISANEH AND ON BEHALF
OF CHRIST.

NOTE.—Some of the important Hindoo names, as mentioned by Zenob in the course of his narrative, may be identified as follows:—

Gisaneh may have been the corrupt form of Krishna, and Demeter the Hellenised form of Juggernath or Ganesh, which according to Hindoo mythology are the lords of earth and of creation. Similarly Kuars may be identified with Koilash, Meghtes with Mukti, Horean with Horendra and Artzan with Arjun, all of which are genuine Hindoo names of ancient India.

## Rajah Radhakanta Deb's services to the country.

(By Brajendra Nath Banerji.)

Rajah Radhakanta Deb occupies a prominent place among the Bengali celebrities of the early 19th century. He was born on 10th March 1783 (1st Chaitra 1705 Saka). His father Gopimohan Deb was the adopted son of Maharajah Navakrishna, the founder of the Sovabazar Raj family of Calcutta. Though born in affluence, Radhakanta proved superior to the usual temptations around him, and directed his energies, time and resources to the pursuit of knowledge. He was a good scholar in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, besides possessing a sound knowledge of English,—which last accomplishment was very rare among the Hindus of that age.

Radhakanta readily lent his support to many a public cause. He did much for advancing education and promoting the diffusion of useful knowledge amongst his countrymen, and it was to his untiring energy that the foundation and early prosperity of many of the principal public institutions of Calcutta were due. He encouraged the training of girls, and assisted Gaurmohan Vidyalankar, head pandit of the School Society, in the preparation and publication of a pamphlet called the *Stri-siksha Vidhayaka*, which dwelt on the importance of female education and proved how it involved no violation of the precepts of the Hindu scriptures. The question of female education was in a fluid state at the time. The sight of Hindu girls nursed in confinement and reared in ignorance, deeply moved Radhakanta. He steered a middle course in the matter of reform and "advocated the education of *respectable* native females in their own homesteads, or in those of their neighbours, under some sort of general surveillance."

As an author, the high fame of Radhakanta Deb rests on the compilation and publication of the *Sabda-kalpadruma*—a comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary, the merits of which were acknowledged by learned European Societies,

and for which Queen Victoria gave him a medal in July 1859. Not only did he spend a considerable portion of his fortune on it, but he devoted nearly 40 years of his life to its completion. The first volume of this monumental work appeared in 1822, and the seventh, or last, in 1852, and the Appendix, which forms a separate volume, in 1858.

Radhakanta was strictly conservative and orthodox in religion. He clung to the creed to which he had been born. When in December 1829 Lord William Bentinck made an enactment declaring the rite of *Sati* illegal, it was Radhakanta Deb who moved the Dharma-sabha—founded by his father—to appeal to the King in Council for the repeal of this humane measure!

Public honours came thick upon Radhakanta. In 1835 he was made a Justice of the Peace and an Honorary Magistrate of the town of Calcutta—then a post of great honour as it was confined to a select few only. The title of *Rajah Bahadur* was conferred upon him in July 1837, "in consideration of the dignity of his ancestors, the high character for probity and learning he bore among his countrymen, and the laudable anxiety he had ever displayed to render his services useful to the public."[1] Radhakanta was elected as the first President of the British Indian Association on its establishment in 1851, and was the first Bengali to be created a K.C.S.I., in 1866. He died at Brindaban in the following year (19 April 1867).

Such in brief was the career of Rajah Radhakanta Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I.*

I have succeeded in unearthing in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, some State-papers—hitherto unpublished—which might be of assistance to future biographers.

On 9th November 1833 Radhakanta Deb addressed the following letter to Government:—

> "Permit me to forward to you the accompanying statement of the labours by which I endeavoured to be as useful to my countrymen as my humble capacities permitted, with the request to be pleased to lay it before the Right Honourable the Governor General. I beg leave to add that it is not by any motive of vanity I am taking the liberty of troubling you with this request, but merely by a desire of making known to His Lordship that in my humble sphere I exert myself to the best of my powers to conform myself to his high and benevolent intentions to raise the natives of India to a higher state of civilization and welfare.†

[1] Letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Secy. to the Government of India, to Babu Radhakanta Deb, dated Fort William, 10th July 1837.—*Political Proceedings*, 10th July 1837, No. 116.

* For fuller details, see *A rapid sketch of the life of Raja Radhakanta Deva Bahadur*, with some notices of his ancestors, and testimonials of his character and learning, by the Editors of the Raja's *Sabdakalpadruma* (Calcutta, 1859); "Radhakant Deb", *Calcutta Review*, vol. xlv (1867), pp. 317-26; Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 115.

† Letter to W. H. Macnaghten, Secy. to Government, dated 9th November 1833.—*Public Consultation*, 25 Nov. 1833, No. 59.

The statement alluded to gives in brief an account of the service he rendered to his country and is quoted below :—

" Babu Radhakanta Deb, who is a Director of the Hindoo College, Member of the Calcutta School Book Society, Native Secretary of the Calcutta School Society, Vice-President of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was a Member of the late Saugor Island Society, has compiled, translated, and corrected several publications for the School Book Society. In 1821, he published a Bengali Spelling Book after Lindley Murray's plan, and also an Abridgment thereof in 1827. He translated [in 1820] a collection of Fables [*Nitikatha*] from English into Bengali and revised the Bengali translation of an Easy Introduction to Astronomy. He made his house first the Depository of the Society's publications, and distributed them among the Natives, and persuaded the indigenous school-masters to use them, pledging himself there should not be introduced any religious matter therein; as particularized in the first and fourth reports of the Calcutta School Society.

" He has, for many years, been engaged in the compilation of a Sanskrit dictionary, entitled *Sabda-kalpadruma* in imitation of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* of which three volumes have since been issued from the press, containing nearly 3,000 quarto pages, and it will take some years more to complete the work. An account of this dictionary may be found in the Second Report of the Calcutta School Book Society, page 50; *Friend of India* of 1820, N. 1, page 140; Preface to Dr. H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit and English Dictionary, edition, 1, page 38; as well as in the Preface to the Revd. W. Morton's Bengali and English Dictionary, page 6. The author has received the thanks and approbation of those learned Europeans and Natives to whom he presented copies of the work, for which applications are daily made to him from different quarters.

" Radhakanta Deb was favoured with a Diploma, dated May 17th 1828, from the Royal Asiatic Society, in testimony of the valuable information they received from him, and a very kind letter from Sir Alexander Johnston, Knight, Chairman of the Society, bearing date the 4th July 1828, stating in the concluding part thereof, that ' I shall, by the present opportunity, forward to the Governor General of India, a copy of the enclosed resolution, in order that he may be aware of the high respect which the Society entertains for your talents, and that he may

promote, by such means as he may think proper, the literary pursuits in which you are engaged.' Radhakanta has lately translated into English an extract from a Horticultural work in Persian, and transmitted it to the Royal Asiatic Society on the 3rd December 1832.

"At the request of the Native community, he prepared Addresses in the English, Bengali, and Persian languages, on the occasion of the departure of the Hon'ble Sir E. H. East, Kt., late Chief Justice, and the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Governor General, and read them before those gentlemen. He transmitted to the Oriental Literary Society, through one of its members, his remarks on Happiness, etc. and received their thanks for the same.

"His first correspondence was published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, volume 2nd, Appendix, pages 46, 61 and 63, Note 4 and 5. His accounts of the agriculture of the 24-Parganas, etc., were among several useful papers contributed by him, inserted in the Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Volume 1, pp. 48 and 62, and Volume 2nd, Part 1st, page 1, and his two letters on Native Inoculation and Small-pox, were subjoined to Dr. Cameron's Report on the present state of Vaccine Inoculation in Bengal.

"In 1822 he, at the desire of Mr. H. T. Prinsep, the late Persian Secretary, furnished him with the accounts of all respectable and opulent Natives of the Presidency. Sir E. H. East, Kt., and Sir C. E. Grey, Kt., late Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, were at the time of their departure to England, pleased to favour Radhakanta Deb with two kind letters, of which copies are also annexed."

The following reply was sent to Radhakanta by Secretary Macnaghten:—

"I have had the honor of receiving your letter dated the 9th instant with the works and copies of documents accompanying it which have been duly laid before the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General.

"2. In reply I am directed to inform you that His Lordship has observed with much pleasure the proofs which these works and documents afford of your consistent endeavours to disseminate useful knowledge and to encourage a taste for literary and scientific attainments among the higher orders of your countrymen. His Lordship trusts that you will steadily persevere in your laudable efforts. Talent and influence are properly employed when they are devoted to works of beneficence, and

your countrymen have a right to expect that those among them who have been most highly gifted by Providence should lead the way in the progress of improvement."*

## The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh.

(By Panduranga Pissurlencar.)

From the time of Akbar, the Portuguese in India jealously viewed the expansion of the Mughal power in the Deccan, realising the danger which would result to them from the neighbourhood of this great power.[1]

This is the reason why the Portuguese authorities of Goa fomented the defensive alliance of the kingdoms of the Deccan, when the Mughal Emperor, referred to above, looked upon this country with covetous eyes. In Fr. Du Jarric's 'Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum', Volume III, page 46, is found a hint of such an alliance, which is also irrefutably demonstrated by the light of other contemporary sources.[2]

During the reign of Jehangir, by "building up a grand alliance of the Deccani Powers, Malik Ambar attacked the Mughals in overwhelming force", said Professor J. N. Sarkar.[3] It seems to us however, that Portuguese diplomacy prepared the ground in advance of this alliance.[4]

In the struggles of Shah Jahan against the kingdoms of the Deccan, the Portuguese authorities in Goa, in accordance with the order of the King of Portugal himself, also helped the Deccan States many times in secret. For instance, in 1631, during the siege of Bijapur by the Mughal General, Asaf Khan, the Viceroy of Goa, Conde de Linhares, in spite of the advantageous terms[5] offered to him by the Mughal General if he would aid them, (the besiegers), helped Adil Shah secretly "with bombardiers, powder and munitions". One also reads, apropos of this, in the Act of the Council of State held in Old Goa on the 3rd of April 1632: "........ His Excellency

* Letter from W. H. Macnaghten, Secy. to Government, dated 21st November 1833—*Public Proceedings*, 25 November 1833, No. 60.

[1] See my article "Os Portugueses contra os Mogois no Deocao," in the 'Herald' of New Goa, of October 1926.

[2] See Rev. H. Heras' "The Portuguese Alliance with the Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan," in J. B. B. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. I, pp. 122—125 (1925); and principally "Monções de Reino," No. 4, fl. 629 v. (Goa Records.)

[3] J. N. Sarkar's "History of Aurangzib," Vol. I and II, 1925, p. 26.

[4] See the Letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy, Rui Lourenco de Tavora, dated the 29th October 1609 (B. Pato, "Documentos Remetidos da India," t. 1, 1880, pp. 253—254.) Cf. also t. II, p. 89.

[5] The Viceroy, Conde de Linhares said in his letter to the King of Portugal, dated the 16th November 1632, ". . . I was obliged to help him to gain the kingdom of Adil Shah and that they would give me as my share almost all the low-lands of these surroundings." ('Monções,' No. 15, fl. 5.)

(the Viceroy) proposed, when at this city the first news arrived of the close siege in which the Mughals confederated with Malik Ambar (*i.e.*, Nizam Shah), that he should write to the said Adil Shah offering him in the trouble in which he found himself besieged by his enemies, all the help and favour that the [Portuguese] State of India could give him, forgetting on this occasion the offences, and the hostile attitude which the said Adil Shah adopted towards this State . . . . . . . . . And that this offer he made to him in virtue of a command which His Majesty had given him, and it was held out in case the Mughals pressed Adil Shah too much, when His Excellency would arrange to come to his help in order that the Mughals should not prevail in destroying him and taking from him his kingdom . . . . . . . . . ."[6]

During the time of Aurangzib, the Viceroy, Dom Antonio de Mello de Castro, followed in general the same old policy throughout the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jai Singh against the Mahratta Shivaji.

The Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, took over charge on the 16th of December 1662. At this time Shivaji was already at war with the Mughal General, Shaista Khan.[7] Immediately in the beginning of his rule, Antonio de Mello de Castro wrote to Shivaji asking him to send to him " one of his own people, to whom he could communicate some matters of importance to both States.[8] The Viceroy said in his letter to Shivaji, dated 26th April 1663, in answer to the Mahratta Monarch: " . . . . . . Now that I have this letter of Your Highness and with it the way has been opened for us to communicate, I send to the North a nobleman of such authority and experience that he can arrange with Your Highness all that is practicable and convenient to both of us. However, it will be with great secrecy, because in this consist the good results which I desire for Your Highness, not only on account of your brave acts but also for the good friendship which the Portuguese will find in Your Highness. And this person, who is Dom Alvaro de Ataide, takes with him also the order not to consent that anything should be passed in injury to the people of Your Highness to whom I am particularly inclined and will always help with a good heart, within permitted limits. And if anything should happen against this, it would be without my knowledge, and I would send to make an investigation in order to give to the guilty persons the punishment which they would deserve. And I hope that from the present struggle Your Highness will come out victorious, and that the fame of your victories and the terror in your antagonists will increase. I trust Your Highness will always give me the good news of your health and, if there is anything here which I can do for Your Highness, you will ever find me most willing."[9]

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[6] " Livro dos Actas do Conselho do Estado," (Book of the Acts of the Council of State), No. 2, fl. ?. Cf. also " Livro Monções do Reino," N. 15, fl. 5.

[7] Sarkar's " Shivaji," chap. IV, pp. 90—92; and " History of Aurangzib," Vol. IV, pp. 46—47.

[8] " 2° Livro dos Reis Visinhos," (Book of the Neighbouring Kings), fl. 15, v. My " Shivaji," p. 6.

[9] *Ibid.*

In the Archives of the Government of Goa, the letter cannot be found which Shivaji wrote to the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, but there is a copy there of " an order which Dom Alvaro de Ataide, a nobleman of the House of His Majesty, took when he went as Captain General of the North," in which the Viceroy makes reference to the same letter: " I had, a few days ago, a letter from Rajah Shivaji in which he promises me to maintain good relations with this State and those fortresses (of the North), as long as I would warn the Captains of them not to allow any foodstuffs or provender to go to the people of the Mughal Emperor. For this reason it occurred to me to order you to continue with the said Shivaji and his people the same relations which he promised to have with us, and it would be expedient to prevent with all dissimulation that any kind of provision should go to the Camp of the Mughal, in order that for want of it he would leave this neighbourhood and thus Shivaji would have a chance of being able to accomplish his intentions of injuring the enemy who, as he is so powerful, would be better far away and not such a close neighbour . . . . . . . "[10]

This letter is dated the 5th of May 1663, that is, a month after Shivaji's famous night attack on Shaista Khan. " This night attack was a complete success. The daring and cunning of the Mahratta hero were rewarded by an immense increase of his prestige. The whole country talked with astonishment and terror of the almost super-human deed done by him." (J. Sarkar). The great Mahratta followed up, a few months later, the aforesaid night attack by another deed of greater audacity. It was the sack of Surat lasting from the 6th to the 10th of January 1664. In his letter of the 28th January 1666, the Viceroy of Goa said to the Court that Shivaji, having made a daring attack on Surat " went on happily to his own dominions, drawing near our territory with the intention to avail himself of its protection in any strait."[11]

Being a man of great prudence as Shivaji was, would he have had the help or connivance of the Portuguese of Bassein when he went to sack Surat? If he had it, the rumours of it reached the ears of the Mughal authorities to such a point that the Mughal Captain, Lodi Khan, in reprisals of the Portuguese, entered the Portuguese territory in 1664 and carried off from there the foodstuffs of the villagers.[12]

During the campaigns of Jai Singh with Shivaji, the ablest of Mughal Generals protested with the Portuguese for having given aid to Shivaji. A letter of the Viceroy, Dom Antonio de Mello de Castro, written to Jai Singh

[10] " Livro de Regimentos," No. 1, fl. ?.

[11] " Livro das Moncoes," N. 30, fl. 143. In this place the following is significant: " Shivaji respected the habitation of the Rev. Fr. Ambrose, the Capuchin Missionary. 'The Frankish Padrys are good men,' he said, 'and shall not be molested'." (" The English Factories in India," 1661—1664, by William Foster, Oxford, 1923, p. 310). The Traveller, Thevenot, ('Voyages,' ed. 1727, vol. V, p. 85), also refers to the fact that at the request of Fr. Ambrose, Shivaji did not molest the Christians of Surat.

[12] See Biker's " Colleccao dos Tratados da India " (Collection of the Treaties of India), Vol. IV, pp. 125—26.

on the 31st of March 1665, reads thus: "I received the letter of Your Highness and it pleases me very much to have so near such a good neighbour. Between our King, my Lord, and the King Sultan Aurangzib exists peace and friendship which has lasted for many years. Last year Captain Lodi Khan broke it without any reason, entering our territory . . . . . . . of which I had complained to the King Sultan Aurangzib, hoping from the King that this excess done against his orders and against his friends, would receive an adequate punishment, because from these lands was never given help or favour to Shivaji nor was it enough for him to say that he brings with him some Portuguese for him to presume that I consent to it for also in the lands of the Mughal King are found a great number of Portuguese people, without my permission, some for crimes that they did, others forgetful of their duty; it is not in my power to reduce them. In the same way many Portuguese people are found in Golconda, in Canara and with Adil Shah, as Your Highness must know. And from now onwards it should be understood that I should not deprive myself of such a large number of soldiers, having wars, and being able with them to punish my enemies. What is certain is that the Captain, Lodi Khan, sought that excuse in order to cover up what he had done, as if this act could hide from the eyes of the world what he did, whether with less care or with less zeal than he should have, allowing Shivaji to pass to Surat, for which the Portuguese could not be blamed; but though I am greatly hurt and not at all pleased, withal, as Your Highness whom I wished to please, has asked me, I hereby send orders to the North that they should not give Shivaji any kind of favour nor admit any of his people into our lands, and the same will be done from this side . . . . . . . ."[13]

In accordance with the promise made to the Mughal General, the Viceroy ordered the Portuguese Captain of Bassein on the 30th of the same month of March 1665, not to admit the people of Shivaji into Portuguese territory, nor to show them any favour.[14] But fifteen days after, he nominated as Chief Captain of the Northern territory of the Portuguese, Ignacio Sarmento de Carvalho,[15] and entrusted to him the difficult mission such as appears in the following order, which was given to him by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, on the 18th of April 1665. " . . . . . . . The affairs of the Mughals which give so much anxiety on account of the state in which we find them, even though at present they do not show much danger, are, however, worthy of great consideration and thus it is meet that we deal with them with great prudence so that we should neither give them occasion to break with us, nor

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[13] "2 Livro dos Reis Visinhos," fl. 36; and my "Shivaji," pp. 10—11.

[14] "Papeis diversos," Miscellaneous Papers, Bundle No. 1.

[15] There was a Portuguese of great merit, belonging to the nobility, who filled high places in the Portuguese Government. In "The History of the Mughal," Manucci refers to him more than once, describing also in great detail his barbarous assassination perpetrated in 1676 by his son-in-law called Jao Correa de Sa. (With respect to this, see the article of I. Gracias in the 'Oriente Portugues' Nova Goa, Vol. VIII, 1911, pp. 127—136.

should we show them that we doubt them; and because all their complaint is born of their imagination that we show favour to Shivaji, you should order that nothing should be done from which they could have this suspicion. However, if without this risk you could secretly give any aid with munitions or foodstuffs to Shivaji you should do it for money because it is not desirable that if he is driven from his lands, the Mughal should remain the lord of them. But this should be done with such great caution that never should he be able to guess, much less verify it.

To Shivaji you will write how much better it is for him and for us that his retreat, in case it should be necessary to do so, should not be to Chaul, but rather to Goa, where he would be more safe and we would not have to break with the Mughal, and in this way we would be able to be the intermediary in any conference when fortune changes the state of things. Also emphasise that he would obtain the greatest safety in this island of Goa, which he could not have in Chaul, and thus he should be persuaded that it is best for him and we should save ourselves as far as is possible for us to do so."[16]

This document throws light on the relations of the Portuguese with Shivaji during the terrible crisis of the invasion of Jai Singh. Above all the last part of the order is of great importance for from it we conclude that Shivaji thought of retiring to the Portuguese territory of Chaul, if he was pushed to the extreme. No historian refers to this fact. Only Cosme da Guarda, in his "Vida do Sevagy" (Life of Shivaji), written in 1675, (page 40), and published in Lisbon in 1730, says that Shivaji, after returning from the Court of the Great Mughal, not feeling safe in his own lands, and with the fear of falling for the second time into the hands of the Mughals, sent to ask safe-conduct or security from Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of India, in order to pass over to the territories of the Portuguese with all his treasure; "but this in the supposition that the power of the Mughal would overcome him, for he judged that otherwise he could defend himself, because only in that case did he wish to secure his person. The Viceroy answered that if this time should arrive and he wished to avail himself of the protection of the Portuguese, then in his lands he would always find safety. Nevertheless, he could not defend him from the Mughal who was very powerful for he did not possess sufficient forces to make such a great resistance . . . With this answer this discussion was finished." (Pages 143 and 144.)

Shivaji returned from the prison of Agra to the Mahratta court in December 1667,[17] and the Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro gave over the government of Goa to his successor on the 17th of October of the aforesaid year[18] that is, two months before Shivaji returned to Rajgarh. At the same time, the assertion of Cosme de Guarda is improbable. We presume, however, that this

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[16] "Livro de Regimentos," No. I, fl. 7.
[17] Sarkar's "Shivaji," and "History of Aurangzib," vol. IV.
[18] Saldanha's "Historia de Goa."

biographer of Shivaji must have heard some rumour on the subject. It is also credible that Jai Singh had sent to Goa his envoys Coge Alaudi Mahomed, with the object that Shivaji should not succeed in obtaining refuge in Portuguese territory after he returned from Goa. So the astute Mughal General in the anxious state in which he was after the flight of Shivaji from Agra,[19] sent an ambassador to Goa who, on the 15th of December 1666, made to the Portuguese Government the following proposal: " Any person who should rebel or rise against the Crown of the said King (Aurangzib), should not be taken by the Portuguese under their protection, and they should be treated as having rebelled against the King of Portugal."[20]

To return to our first point . . . After settling the differences raised by Jai Singh, and also to congratulate him on his success against Shivaji, the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, in the last week of August 1665, nominated the priest, Fr. Dãoi ma Vieira —a Jesuit, who was at the time Vicar in Bassein—to accompany Jai Singh as ambassador. Recently we discovered in the archives of the Government of Goa, a copy of the order given to this Ambassador by the Viceroy of Goa, which throws much light on the relations of the Portuguese with Jai Singh and which we reproduce here:

" Order which was given to the priest, Damiao Vieira, who goes as an envoy to the General of the Mughal Army.

" Antonio de Mello de Castro of the Council of State of His Majesty, Viceroy and Captain General of India, etc. I hereby declare to you (the Rev. Damiao Vieira) that, in view of the confidence which I place in your person, I nominate you to go as an Envoy to the General of the Mughal army who will soon be in the lands of Bassein, to hold the interview which you will have with him. I think it good to give you the following order with which you will comply: The complaints of the Mughal are that I gave back the ships to Shivaji; that we did not send the artillery which he asked for; that we took away a daughter from a heathen to be made Christian; that some cloth was taken away from some merchants of Galiana; and another secret complaint which it is also necessary to satisfy, that I did not send any one representing me to visit him.

" To the first, you should answer that I could not keep back the ships of Shivaji, because he was not at war with me;[21] however, in order that I might be able to do what the said Mughal General asked me, I took from him all the transport ships which the Mahratta Shivaji had carried off on the pretence

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[19] Cf. what Professor Sirkar wrote about Jai Singh's anxieties and plans about Shivaji. ( " Shivaji," pp. 174—177.)

[20] " Pazes e Tratados " (Peaces and Treaties), No. 2, fl. 156.

[21] Cf. the following extract from the order which Dom Francisco Luis Lobo, Captain General of the Northern Fleet, carried with him: " . . . All the vessels, which you will find of Shivaji, you will take, for instance, War-ships and Merchant-ships, which you will hand over intact to the Agent at Bassein in order that we may be able to return them, if Shivaji returns the ships of Luis de Miranda . . . " 24th November 1665, (Livro de Cartazes No. 2).

that he was coming to my land, thus preventing that he should provision the fortresses so that they could resist for a longer time; as the success of this movement has shown, because for lack of provisions they gave themselves up to him; and instead of the General being grateful for my friendship and good relations, he complains with very little reason.

To the second, that the pieces of artillery, which are in our fortresses, could not be taken away as the express orders of the King of Portugal prohibited it, and, if it is not lawful for a Viceroy, how could the Captain General or the Captain of the City do it? If the Mughal General had written before the beginning of winter, I should have sent him from here the pieces of artillery in the same way as I would have done in the beginning of the summer, it would still be necessary that this offer should not be made only when he insists on it that the affairs cannot be settled without.

To the third you will have to answer that from the time we have come to India till now we have always taken orphans to make them Christians, and thus we have proceeded without complaints from any one, and that those who come to live in our lands are subjected to our laws; but, in order to please the Mughal General, if the young girl is not already made Christian, and if she does not wish to be, I shall send her to him. But if she wishes to be, or will have been baptised, in no way will it be possible to do so.

To the fourth, about the Captain General Dom Alvaro de Ataide taking the ships and the goods of these men of Galiana, on account of the war and theft which Lodi Khan unjustly did in our land, that the same General writes to me complaining about this that one should not speak of past things, and thus he too should do his part. Then he advises me the same thing on my side: however, every time that they compensate the damages and losses which our village received, I shall also restore that trifle which was taken.

To the last, you should give a satisfactory answer before they have a chance to speak, saying that between us it is the custom that he who comes first should send some one to pay the visit, because he knows from where he comes, and others have not the obligation to guess it. And even if they have the news we expect this kind of courtesy just as I did with the mother of King Ali Adil Shah when she came to Vingurla to embark, for which she had the same complaint, and knowing that this was our custom, sent to let me know that she had arrived, because she had come to that part, and then I sent my representative to visit her. And thus he should not find it strange that I did with him what I did with all; rather he should understand, judging by the person whom I send, how much greater respect I pay to him.

And if there is anything further, you should answer him that the power and the commission which you took with you, is only for that fact about which the said General wrote to me and that you have not the power to treat about

other affairs, and that he could write to me about them. Thus you will do. Given in Goa, 22nd August 1665. Antonio de Mello de Castro."[22]

Manucci refers to the embassy of Fr. Damiao Vieira to the General Jai Singh, but the narration of the Italian traveller is most deficient.[23] The Portuguese documents are silent with respect to the part which Manucci took in these negotiations, rather, on the contrary, from the letter of the Viceroy to the said Fr. Damiao Vieira,[24] one understands that the Portuguese men—Diogo de Mello and Francisco de Mello, who served in the army of Jai Singh[25] —were the intermediaries in these negotiations.[26]

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## Shuja-ud-Daulah, Nawab Vazir of Oudh (1754-75).

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.)

The year 1707 was the most fateful year in the annals of the Mughal Empire in India. On Friday, the 4th March of that year the Great Emperor, Aurangzib, breathed his last. His last words of advice and warning to his sons, the result of his experience of half a century's rule, failed to create any impression on their minds; and within a few weeks after the death of this great "Puritan Monarch of India," Hindustan was convulsed by a series of fratricidal wars. The Emperors who ruled after Aurangzib's death were mere shadows of sovereignty who failed to check the downward march. Within fifty years of the Emperor's death, the mighty Empire of the Mughals had dwindled to such an extent that minor States were emboldened to claim their independence of the Mughal Empire.

Among the states which claimed freedom, the kingdom of Oudh occupied the highest place. The importance of Oudh dates back to the appointment about 1732 of Saadat Ali Khan,[1] the founder of the dynasty, to its Governorship. Saadat Ali Khan was succeeded in 1739 in the command of Oudh by his sister's son, who was also his son-in-law, Abul Mansur Muhammad Muqim, better known as Safdar Jang.[2] Safdar dying in 1754 (17th of *Zilhidj*, 1167), was succeeded by his son, Shuja-ud-Daulah, who also became *Vazir*

[22] See "Livro de Regimentos," N. 1, fl. ?.
[23] Manucci—"Storia do Mogor," vol. II, pp. 142—143.
[24] Papeis diversos (Miscellaneous Papers), Bundle No. 1.
[25] About these men, see my book *Portugueses e Maratas*, 1, 1926, appendix, p. 2.
[26] The documents in manuscripts cited in this paper are in the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim.
[1] "Saadat Ali Khan was a merchant of Nishapur, a town in Khorasan, and was of great service to the then Delhi Emperor, Muhammad Shah, to free himself from the thraldom of the Saiyid brothers of Barha." *Lucknow Gazetteer* by H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.
[2] "He claimed to be a Saiyid or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and also of Abbas the Great, Shah of Persia." But Dow, styles Safdar Jung as "the infamous son of a more infamous Persian pedlar." Forster, however, who conversed with some inhabitants of Nishapur, says that "they bore indisputable testimony to the ancient rank of the family of the Persian adventurer." He built the city of Fyzabad. *Gazetteer of India* by E. Thornton.



Nawāb Shujā-ud-Daulah of Oudh.
Ethnographical Museum, Berlin.
(Reproduced from a photograph kindly lent by Mr. A. Ghose of Calcutta.)

of the Mughal Empire seven years later in 1761. Shuja-ud-Daulah, was thus the first *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh.

Although Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah became *Vazir* in the year 1174 of the *Hijra*, his investiture did not take place till the 21st of *Rabi-us-sani* 1175. He received from the then Delhi Emperor, Shah Alam II, on this occasion, according to the *Seir Mutaqherin*, " a *qhylaat* of seven pieces, with four plates of jewels and gems and these were followed by a chaplet of pearls which was thrown over his neck, whilst he was presented with the casket of *Vazir* which was of gold, studded with jewels." The following character sketch by the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* [3] may prove interesting: " Shuja-ud-Daulah in his own temper was slothful, negligent and careless, but so valorous that, with that single quality of his, he found means to contain (*sic*) the Zemindars and the other refractory people with which (*sic*) his dominions abounded; so that his government was always respected. He was exceedingly fond of the company of women, without being attached to any and addicted to every kind of pleasure, without exception, save however, that of drinking wine. Nevertheless, there appeared no impudence in his character and no contempt of decorum in his behaviour. He had such an abundant fund of goodness, liberality and benignity, as made him connive at tresspasses against his interest, and rendered him ever ready to forgive the guilty." His " abundant fund of goodness " is evidenced from the fact that when he heard of the tragic death of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah his expression of sympathy[4] was as deep as it was sincere.

We find from the records of the year 1761 that when Raja Ram Narayan of Patna had some misunderstanding with Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, chiefly in connection with the accounts of the revenues of the Patna Province, he wrote an *arzi*[5] to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah soliciting military help from him. The English translation of this *arzi* runs thus:—" According to your command I have set the business on foot and am waiting day and night for the approach of your noble standard to this country (Patna Province) which is without a head. May the Almighty bring about a day in which this land by your blessed arrival may be raised to a state of abundance and prosperity! I hope that you will speedily despatch a strong army into these parts and I am ready to devote my life to your cause. I will take the measure (*sic*) for driving out the European infidels and send the Nabob Cossim Ale Cawn (*sic*) a prisoner to you. In the twinkling of an eye the regulation of this country may be affected by the hands of Your Excellency." From the Minutes of the Select Committee[6] (Foreign Department) dated 3rd August 1768, which deal with several papers relating to the Nawab Vazir's military preparations

[3] The *Seir Mutaqherin* by Saiyid Ghulam Husain Khan.
[4] Pub. Progs. Vol. Jan.-Aug. 1757, p. 247.
[5] Bengal Pub. Cons., Vol. 1761, p. 328.
[6] S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1768, pp. 371-90.

to obtain possession of the districts of Kora and Allahabad in the year 1768, we find further evidence of his military proclivities. We gather from those papers that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah employed engineers to manufacture his guns; that Colonel Sir Robert Barker in his letter to Colonel R. Smith spoke of the superior quality of his guns; that Captain G. Harper admitted to Colonel R. Smith of the astonishing improvements effected in his army; that the Board warned Colonel Sir Robert Barker to keep a vigilant eye on his military movements and also to equip himself with provisions, etc. Again, we find from a certificate[7] granted by Major J. Graham to Dost Beg, a wounded military horseman, at Allahabad on the 9th March, 1768, that Shuja-ud-Daulah used to maintain an efficient cavalry. We learn further from the Persian records[8] that the aforesaid Nawab trained his troops after the European system. Instances may thus be multiplied from the records to prove that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was not a man to be trifled with.

It would be out of place to attempt in the short compass of this paper a detailed history of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah—but the following notes relating to his career may not prove uninteresting:—Troubles in Multan and the Punjab which enabled the Mahrattas to extend their conquests as far as Lahore and to foster the steady growth of their influence in Hindustan seriously alarmed the Rohillas and the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah. The latter invited Ahmad Shah, King of the Durranis, to come to India to their support. Accordingly Ahmad Shah setting out from Kandahar, crossed the river Attock in the beginning of the year 1173 of the *Hijra* and joined his co-religionists. For two months the great armies representing the two rival religions lay opposite each other engaging in skirmishes, the principal of which was the Battle of Badely, in which nearly 70,000 Mahrattas were slain (in the second month, *Jamadi*, 1173 of the *Hijra*). Again, early in 1761 a pitched battle was fought (the third Battle of Panipat, 1761 A. D. Thursday, the 6th of the second *Jamadi* 1174 of the *Hijra*) on the field of Panipat where 80,000 Mahrattas were destroyed. After this battle, the Durani King, as the conqueror of Hindustan, bestowed the Empire on Shah Alam II[9] and the office of *Vazir* on Shuja-ud-Daulah. He left India the same year, taking with

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[7] Pub. O. C. 27 June 1768, No. 2.

[8] Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah's letter to Warren Hastings, Governor, dated 5 June 1774 (Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1086).

[9] In this connection the following translation of a letter from Nawab Zinat Mahal, mother of Shah Alam, to Shah Alam who was then away from Delhi, will be read with interest. In this letter she urged her son to come to Delhi immediately to meet the Durani King and to receive the sovereignty of India from his hands: "The King of Kings is arrived at the Killa. To this day which is the 20th of the month of Rijib (*sic*) I have frequently visited the King of Kings. He expects your arrival and is impatient for it. He has given me great encouragement in assuring me that he remains but for Shah Alum, and his word may be depended on. My son, he assured that on your coming everything will be concluded. When I desired the Shah (Duranee King) to send some token of favour to Shah Alum, he replied: I before sent a Sirpache, etc., but he did not come: to repeat it is not proper. It is better that Shah Alum come himself, then I will put his country into his hands and depart. Timur Shah has given me marks of his affection more than I can express, and he too desires most earnestly that you may arrive

him a fabulous sum of money, amounting to two *crores*, of which 90 lakhs were paid by Shuja-ud-Daulah.[10]

The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* gives us the following graphic description of the battle:—" The field of Panipat, where 80,000 Mahrattas were destroyed, looked after the battle, like a vast tract sown with tulips and as far as the sight could extend, nothing could be discovered but bodies stretched at the foot of bodies as if they had been asleep or marshalled by art. After the battle two and twenty thousand women, girls and children of both sexes, some of them persons of distinction and related to the most illustrious of the slain were distributed amongst the victorious who plundered an incredible quantity of money, jewels and fine stuffs, nor is there coming at any computation of the mighty sum. The whole of that numerous artillery with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants and an infinity of camels and mules fell into the hands of the victorious."

Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah having in 1763 made common cause with Nawab Qasim Ali Khan in resisting the arms of the East India Company was repulsed in an attack on the British army under Major H. Munro at Patna on the 13th May, 1764, the middle of second *Rabi* 1178 of the *Hijra;* and on the 22nd of the same month was totally routed at Buxar.[11] Finding no other resource left, Shuja-ud-Daulah fled through Faizabad and Lucknow to Bareilly. Having obtained help from the Pathans, Afghans and the Mahrattas he again faced the British army under Brig.-General J. Carnac in 1765 near Jajmau (in the Cawnpore District) and again sustained a crushing defeat. This second defeat upset Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah. After it he went to Ferohabad (Farrukhabad), where he complained bitterly of the defection and general indifference of his army to his cause. We find from the *Seir Mutaqherin* that

soon; but he says, that he understands some ill-advised people will not let you come, just as at this place ill-advised people say many things to the King of Kings, but he pays no regard to them and waits for the King. God forbid, says he, that Shah Alum should suffer himself to be led away by the advice of ill-designing men, and delay coming: This will not be well: We are faithful to our engagements. All this trouble that we have taken upon ourselves, is for the sake of Shah Alum Bahadur (*sic*): let him by all possible means come hither speedily. My dear son, how long will it be before you come? This is the time, and it is expedient and necessary that you come immediately. If the Shah, which God forbid, should be so pressed as to depart, fresh difficulties will fall out. Aga Rizza is arrived with letters from you to the Shah and for Timur Shah, as also for Zeen Begum. I have read all these letters in the presence of the said persons. They said: we will send letters to invite Shah Alum, but your letters will have a greater effect if you invite him. My son, if you find anything in those parts worthy your choice, wash your hands of this place."

*P.S.*—" For God's sake, I beg you will send Bahadur Allee, your servant, to me, as I have no life left." (S. C. Progs. Vol. March 1761.)

[10] S. C. Progs. Vol. II, 1761, p. 111.

[11] The Separate General Letter from the Board to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 3rd January 1765, gives an account of this battle. According to the *Seir Mutaqherin* " five or six thousand men were slain in the action. Ten thousand men or more stuck in the mire or perished in the retreat; and two years after, the town of Buxar, the fields and muddy shores of the river for miles together, were beset with human bones."

"every one of the army brought forth some excuse and covered himself with some pretence. But as it was not from the heart it made no impression on the *Vazir*." At last Ahmad-Khan-Bangash, Nawab of Farrukhabad, gave him sound and friendly advice. He told him to go personally to the English camp and to see General Carnac. This piece of advice on the part of Bangash to Shuja-ud-Daulah, forms very interesting reading. The concluding portion of it runs: "Without any one's mediation get up and go alone, and only with your person to the English camp. Do not think ill of such a step. From what I see and hear of these strangers (the English) they seem always to act according to the dictates of generosity and sound sense; nor is it probable that they shall throw the dice of treachery with you or bring you into any disgrace or danger; on the contrary, I shall be egregiously mistaken, if out of regard to your name, and out of respect to the renown of your family, they shall not set open the door of friendship and shew you so much regard and consideration, as shall not fail to satisfy you entirely." As this advice had the ring of candour about it, Shuja-ud-Daulah thought it both advantageous and honourable to take such a step. He accordingly wrote a letter[12] to General Carnac (which was received by him on the 19th May 1765), the English translation of which is as follows:—

"It is known all over the world that the illustrious Chiefs of the English Nation are constant and unchangeable in their friendship which my heart is fully persuaded of. The late disturbances were contrary to my inclination, but it was so ordered by Providence. I now see things in their proper light and have a strong desire to come to you alone, and I am persuaded you will treat me in a manner befitting your own honour. You have shewn great favour to others. When you become acquainted with me, you will see with your own eyes and be thoroughly convinced of my attachment from which I never will depart while I have life. I am this day, 26th of the Moon, arrived at Bilgram. Please God in a very short time I shall have the happiness of meeting you. I regard not wealth nor the government of countries; your favour and friendship are all I desire. Please God I will be with you very soon when you will do for me what you think best." To the above letter General Carnac gave the following friendly reply on the 24th May 1765 from Jajmau[13]: "I have been favoured with your letter in which were some lines wrote (*sic*) with your own hand, declaring your intention of coming to me.

"The receipt of this letter gave me great pleasure. You were before unacquainted with our customs and disposition, thanks be to God, that you are now become sensible of the justice and upwright intention of the English. Now that you are pleased to come to me in a friendly manner you may depend on the best reception in my power suitable to our customs and I will not be

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[12] S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 54.
[13] S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 55.

deficient in forwarding whatever is reasonable for your interest; and when your Excellency shall shew a real attachment to the English, their friendship towards you in return will be made manifest to the whole world. You may with perfect confidence come here as to your own house and to those who wish your welfare." We subsequently find from the letter[14] of General Carnac to the Board, dated Jajmau, 27th May 1765, that the Nawab Vazir arrived at his camp on the 26th May and that he was given a fitting reception. This letter, which exhibits the mental condition of the Nawab Vazir after his Buxar defeat, should repay persual:—

"Hearing that Shuja-ud-Daulah was drawing near I sent Captain Swinton with the Raja Shitab Roy to meet him. He arrived in the evening of the 26th May 1765 on the opposite side of the river and immediately crossed it with his brother-in-law, Salar Jang, and a very few followers in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction at which he expressed much satisfaction. He appears, however, a good deal dejected at his present condition which must bear hard upon him and he must find himself without resource, or being as he undoubtedly is the most considerable man in the Empire and of an uncommon high spirit he would not have submitted to such a condescension. It will in my opinion greatly add to the credit of the English name throughout the country our behaving with generosity towards a person who has all along bore so high a reputation in Hindusthan." However, the result of this interview was the conclusion of a Treaty at Allahabad [15] on the 16th August, 1765, some of the principal conditions of which were (1) that the districts of Kora and Allahabad should be taken away from the Nawab Vazir and given to the Emperor Shah Alam II, for his expenses; (2) that the Factories and the entire freedom of trade should be established in Shuja-ud-Daulah's dominions; (3) that the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah should pay 50 lakhs of rupees to the company as an indemnity for war expenses. "These articles having been set to writing were confirmed by signatures and seals; and there remained now to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah not one reason for staying, save that of paying quickly the money promised to the Company."

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[14] S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 56.

[15] Pub. O. C. 23rd June 1766, No. 1; *see also* S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, pp. 57-8 and S. S. C. Progs. Vol. 1, p. 54. We find from the Resolution of the Minutes of the Select Committee dated Fort William, 7th September 1765, that "it was decided to present an address of thanks to Brigadier-General J. Carnac for his faithful and eminent services during the Buxar and Jajmau battles; particularly for his vigorous and successful efforts to reduce Shuja-Daulah and for the further attention he has shewn to the Company's interest by co-operating with Lord Clive in the several important negotiations." (S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, p. 142); according to Marshman, the above victories "were scarcely less important to the interest of the Company than that of Plassey. They made the English masters of the entire valley of the Ganges from the Himalayas to the sea and placed the glorious Mughal Empire at their feet." For the account of the Buxar Battle, see also *London Gazette*, 1765.

Article No. 3 of the Treaty now engrossed all his thoughts. We find from a letter [16] written by Brigadier-General J. Carnac to the Board from Allahabad, dated the 18th July 1765, that the Nawab Vazir had then in his possession ten *lakhs* worth of jewelleries and bills to pay for the proposed indemnity. But how to pay off the remainder ' forty *lakhs* '? We find from the *Seir Mutaqherin* [17] that under this helpless state " he proposed to every one of his favourites and servants to assist him with a certain sum of money, according to his ability. With this in view he wrote to his mother, to his Consort, to the brothers of his Consort and everyone of his relations and friends, requesting their assistance and informing them that his release depended entirely upon the payment of the stipulated money. He soon found that his very best servants proved much fonder of their money than of their master's concerns. The men who had made their fortunes in his house and were most indebted to him for their well-being, offered only one-half, or one-third or one-fourth of what he might reasonably have expected from them." But this was not the case with his beloved Consort, Bahu Begam.[18] Her act proved to the world what a treasure a devoted and chaste wife is to her husband when in adversity. " That princess not only sent him without hesitation whatever money or jewels, gold or silver furniture which were in her possession, but she added to that offering whatever else she could obtain from the ladies of the seraglio, without sparing the very ring of her nose with its pearls." When strongly dissuaded by her people from so much self-denial, she, according to the *Seir Mutaqherin*, returned to them the following noble answer: " That whatever she was possessed of was of use to her only so long her husband (Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah) was safe; and that if he should cease to be so, all her jewelleries and other precious things would also cease to be of use to herself; nor did she wish to use them on any other condition." Captain J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, in his letter[19] to the Board, dated Lucknow, 31st July 1813, also testified to the invaluable help which the Imperial Consort of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah rendered to him after his disastrous defeats at Buxar and Jajmau. We find, however, from the following extracts from the letter [20] of Lord Clive to the Board, dated, Chapra,

[16] S. C. Progs. Vol. I, 1765, pp. 128-9.
[17] *Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. II, p. 585.
[18] " Her full name was Ammat-Uz-Zahra and she was the only legitimate daughter of the Nawab Mutaman-ud-Daulah Muhammed Isakh Khan, a Noble of the Court of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, whom he served in the capacity of *Diwan-i-Khalsa* or Comptroller-General of the Public Revenues of the Empire." (Sec. Progs. Vol. 30th April 1813, paras. 2 and 3). " She was married to the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah in the year 1159 of the *Hejira* or 1746 A.D. Her marriage was an occasion for the display of uncommon splendour and extraordinary expense under the personal charge of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. Among the presents offered to the bride, there were a thousand cups of silver, weighing each, a hundred rupees. Moreover she was a recipient of a *jagir* which yielded an annual income of 9 *lakhs* of rupees. It is a fact worthy of note that more than two *crores* of rupees were spent on her marriage." (Sec. Progs. Vol. 30th April 1813, para. 5). She died at the ripe old age of 88 in the year 1816 A.D.
[19] Sec. Progs. Vol. 27 Aug. 1813 (para. 6).
[20] Pub. O. C. 23rd June 1766, No. 1.

11th June 1766, that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah most honourably paid off the balance of the indemnity money to the Company on the morning of the 11th June 1766:—

"Shuja-ud-Daulah arrived here (Chapra) the 8th instant and this morning he discharged in money and bills, the balance of his obligation to the Company agreeably to the Treaty concluded at Allahabad on the 16th August 1765."

"Permit me gentlemen to congratulate you upon Shuja-ud-Daulah's faithful observance of the Treaty in this instance, which at the same time that it shews in the strongest light, his gratitude and equity of intention, leaves us no room for dispute with a power whose alliance may be so well depended upon and which will always do honour as well as real service to the Company." The Board in their reply [21] to Lord Clive, dated Fort William, 23rd June 1766, fully endorsed the opinion of Lord Clive.

Shuja-ud-Daulah never forgot his wife's kindness. It may be found from the records [22] that "after such an experience of his Consort's attachment he conceived so high an opinion of her fidelity that he made it a practice to commit to her care whatever money came to his hand in presents or could be spared from necessary expenses." He further went so far "as to place the seals of his government in her custody and allowed her to enjoy a perquisite derived from a tax of a twenty-fourth part of the yearly pay of every officer and soldier of cavalry. He also granted her an additional *jagir* in the extensive district of Gonda. Her influence over her husband was so great that no one dared utter before her the names of his inferior wives or the names of his other sons except Asaf-ud-Daulah, her own-born." She was, indeed, a lady whom "no other woman in all the 32 *Subahs* of India could rival either in the grandeur of her surroundings or in the respect she could command."

The records of the latter half of the eighteenth century show that many Europeans and the servants of the Company used to trade in Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah's dominions by virtue of a treaty concluded between him and Lord Clive at Cheeran Chapra.[23] In them, it may be found that one James Nichol, in his letter [24] to the Board dated Gorakhpur, the 26th January 1767, requested permission to leave Calcutta and to settle as a merchant in the aforesaid Nawab's country. It may further be found from the Persian records[25] that the *gumashtas* of the Company used as well to trade there. As, however, their conduct became intolerable to the aforesaid Nawab, the Company recalled them and ordered them not to trade beyond the Karmanasa

[21] Pub. O. C. 23rd June 1766, No. 3.

[22] Sec. Progs. Vol. 30th April 1813 (Letter from J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, to J. Adam, Secretary, dated Lucknow, 15th April 1813.

[23] Letter from the Governor of Bengal to Nawab Shuja-ul-Daulah, dated 18th January 1772 (Persian Calendar, Vol. III, letter No. 1021).

[24] Pub. O. C. 2nd March 1767, No. 1 (*a*).

[25] *Vide* footnote No. 22.

river. The result was that such merchandise, as broad-cloth, iron, copper and lead, which the Company imported into India during the years 1770-72 suffered a great set-back. The abolition of this trade deprived the Company of their profits; and the Company again approached the Nawab to induce him to allow the trade in those articles at least to go on within his dominions as before. " On other articles of the merchants," the Company agreed " Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah could impose any reasonable duty he pleased." It appears, however, from the Report [26] which Warren Hastings submitted to the Board from Fort William on the 4th October 1773, that Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah did not agree with the Company's proposal. The following important extract from the Report makes clear the position:—

" I had much conversation with *Vazir* concerning a free intercourse of commerce with his dominions, and recommended to him an establishment of customs similar to that which we (the Company) have lately adopted in Bengal, of which I gave him a plan and explanation in writing; but I found it impossible to convince him of the utility of either. He seemed confirmed in the persuation that the current specie of this country would be drained by free trade with ours; that if the English *gumashtas* were authorised to reside there, they would exercise an authority prejudicial to his revenue, notwithstanding any regulations or restrictions of our Government and would involve him in disputes which might perhaps end in the ruin of his connexion with the Company. I promised that no English gentleman should reside in his country, and that I would never interfere in any disputes between the English *gumashtas* and his people, which I left to be decided by his officers, who might exercise the same authority over them as over his own subjects. As I found it impossible to overcome his objections, and I learned that Mirzapore was the mart from which not only his dominions but all the interior parts of Hindusthan were supplied with goods from Bengal, I judged it improper to press him any further to agree to innovations so much against his will, when I could effect the same purposes by an agreement with Raja Chait Singh of Benares to whom the town of Mirzapore belongs, as well as all the intermediate country from the borders of Behar. I informed him of my intention to which he said he had no objection. I accordingly settled with the Raja Chait Singh that the articles of broad-cloth, copper and lead, should pass duty free through his territories to Mirzapore."

On the 8th September 1773, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah entered into another treaty with the Company at Benares. We find from the Records [27] that the Treaty was the result of an interview which Lord Clive had with the Nawab

[26] *S. S. C. Progs.* Vol. I, pp. 52-3.
[27] *S. S. C. Progs.* Vol. I, p. 116; Letter from Warren Hastings to the Members of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Benares, 17th September 1773, gives a full account of this Treaty. (*S. S. C. Progs.* Vol. 1, p. 44). This treaty was signed, sealed and solemnly sworn to by the contracting parties at Benares in the presence of J. Stewart and W. Redfearn. (*Ibid. p. 55*).

at that city. According to it "the monthly subsidy for the extraordinary expense of the Company's troops employed in the aid of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was fixed at the sum of 21,000 rupees for one Brigade and the Provinces of Cora and Allahabad which was originally ceded to the Emperor Shah Alum, were to be transferred to him for the sum of 50 *lakhs* of rupees of which 20 *lakhs* were to be immediately due and were accordingly paid; 15 *lakhs* were to be paid at the expiration of a year and the remaining 15 at the expiration of two years."

The last important event which marked the closing year of his life was the Rohilla War. The Foreign Department records preserved in the Imperial Record Department give a full account. The following important points [28] contained therein cannot be overlooked:—"Just after the conclusion of the Benares Treaty on the 9th September 1773, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah solicited the aid of the Company's troops to reduce the Rohilla country, lying on the north of his dominions between the Ganges and the mountains of Tibet. For this service he engaged to pay the Company, besides the stipulated monthly subsidy, 40 *lakhs* of rupees when the war should be concluded. The immediate plea for these hostilities was the breach of faith, with which the Rohilla Chiefs were charged in the supplies of money afforded by them to the Mahrattas, against whom they had solicited and obtained Shuja-ud-Daulah's assistance under a solemn engagement to pay him 40 *lakhs* of rupees on the departure of the Mahrattas and for refusing afterwards to fulfil that engagement. Shuja-ud-Daulah's request was granted.

The 2nd Brigade was ordered on service, and Colonel A. Champion, the provisional Commander-in-Chief, appointed in command. Having been joined by Shuja-ud-Daulah and his troops, he entered the Rohilla borders on the 17th April 1774 and on the 23rd of the same month (the 11th *Safar*) attacked and defeated Hafiz Rahamat Khan, their leader, after three hours' fighting. Hafiz Rahmat, who showed prodigies of valour, was killed by a cannon-ball and much booty fell into the hands of the conquering army. The victory was decisive; no other enemy appeared in the field; and Shuja-ud-Daulah obtained possession of the greatest part of the Rohilla country." Though in this war General Champion and his English troops "behaved [29] with great spirit and activity," yet Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah complained [30] to Warren Hastings on the 23rd May 1774, that the British troops behaved unseemly in the town of Pilibhit. The paper says that "they entered the city and committed outrages and violence on the inhabitants." When Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah remonstrated against the conduct of the English soldiers, General Champion replied, "as there were 4 *crores* of rupees in the city, his troops

[28] *S. S. C. Progs.* Vol. I, p. 116; in connection with this war, the letter of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to the Board (received by them on the 18th November 1773) is interesting. *S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 76*).

[29] Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1008.

[30] *Ibid*, letter No. 1036.

wanted a share of the same; and that if they were withdrawn they would plunder the whole of the Rohilkhund country." Under the circumstances nothing now remained for Shuja-ud-Daulah, save to appeal to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, to see for himself, " whether there is any justification for such conduct on the part of the English Officers in view of the agreement made between him and the Company for the expedition." Colonel Champion styles the above statements of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah against the English soldiers as " infamous untruths "; but the following extract from the letter [31] of General J. Clavering, Colonel G. Monson and Mr. P. Francis to the Court of Directors dated the 30th November 1774 may be quoted:—

" The fatal consequence of indulging troops with the hopes of plunder have been too often exemplified in this country. The Rohilla War with respect to the share we took in it had no other object; and to judge from the correspondence which has been laid before us it should seem that plunder had engrossed the attention not only of this Government but of the army from the commencement of the campaign to the end of it. We do not mean to intimate the most distant reflection on the conduct of the Brigade, far otherwise. We mean to fix our censure upon the Government, which unnecessarily employs their military force on service which of course suggest hopes of expectations utterly unfit to be proposed to or entertained by a regular army." It should however be remembered that the writers of this letter regarded Warren Hastings as a monster of iniquity whom it was the part of virtue to censure and oppose.

From the records, it may be further found that the British intervention in the Rohilla War was also highly disapproved by the Court of Directors at home. In their letter [32] of the 3rd March 1774 they wrote indignantly:— " Notwithstanding the pecuniary advantages which the Company have gained by the event, we are exceedingly concerned to find that our arms have been employed in the conquest of the Rohillas; that we fear that in a political view, the late engagements with Shuja-ud-Daulah are not altogether unexceptionable; and we absolutely prohibit this Government from employing their troops on such expeditions on any pretence whatsoever." These terms, however, are moderate in comparison with the condemnation which the Court passed on the Rohilla War in their letter of the 7th March 1774. The extract runs:— " It is a measure repugnant to every idea of sound policy. We order the troops to be forthwith recalled and positively direct that we never more consent to employ them beyond the limits of our own provinces, or those of our Ally, whom we are obliged by treaty to defend against actual invasions." This is certainly language which no sophistry can interpret into an approbation of the measure taken by the Company in the Rohilla War.

After his victory in the Rohilla War, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah turned his thoughts entirely towards bringing into order and submission the country of

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[31] *S. S. C. Progs.* Vol. I, pp. 201-2.
[32] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 506.

the Rohillas and towards incorporating his conquests with his hereditary dominion. But he had but few months more to live.

An account of his death which is collected partly from the information given in the records and partly from the *Seir Mutaqherin* will be read with pathetic interest:—When Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was busy with consolidating his Empire after the Rohilla War, " an eruption appeared on his body. At first he took no notice of it; nevertheless the sores increased and baffled all the power of physic and skill of surgeons. Shuja-ud-Daulah himself, was astonished at the declining state of his health and resolved to return to Faizabad* where he had built a palace. Arrived there he expected some benefit from the change of air, but he became worse and worse still. He now called to his assistance some English surgeons who spared no care or attention, but all to no purpose. He was informed that he had but a few hours to live. Calmly sending for his mother, wife and relations, he solemnly pronounced his profession of faith and asked their pardon. On Thursday, the 26th January, 1775 at 6 in the morning (the 22nd of the *Zilqad* 1188 of the *Hijra*) Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah peacefully passed away. An hour later Colonel P. Gailliez wrote a letter [33] to the Board informing them of his death. This letter was received by them on the night of the 5th February 1775 and was immediately sent in circulation among the Members: It runs thus:—

" Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—It is with the utmost concern I inform you of the death of the *Vazir*, who departed this life an hour ago. Mr. Campbell and Captain Stuart attended and dressed him till he died, but for two days past he took no medicine inwardly from them. The mother and the rest of his family about him in their too great anxiety would not admit of anything but from themselves to be administered to him.

" His eldest son and presumptive successor, the Nabob Mirza Amanny (Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah), has applied to me for support in his just rights and my assistance with the troops if necessary, which I have assured him of, until I am honoured with your commands and instructions for my guidance on this occasion. I shall, therefore, remain here and give him every assistance and protection to the family, in my power."

* * * * * * *

I have the honour to be,
with highest respect, etc."
(Sd.) P. GAILLIEZ.

FAIZABAD,
*The 26th January 1775,*
*at 7 in the morning.*

*" Faizabad rose to a height of unparalleled prosperity under Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and almost rivalled Delhi in magnificence. It was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe and money flowed like water; the population had increased enormously and had spread beyond the fortifications and many of the nobles were residing as far as Raunahi on the West. After the death of Shuja-ud-Daulah the city fell into rapid decay." (*Faizabad Gazetteer* by H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.).

[33] *S. S. C. Progs.* Vol. I, p. 208.

The news of the death of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, inspite of his "strange character," filled the whole city of Faizabad with sorrow and grief. Even Mahabat Khan, the eldest son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan (whose family was ruined by him) on seeing the corpse passing by, "could not contain himself, but shed a flood of tears." He further said "that the whole city of Faizabad on that day was in that state, no face being met with that was not bathed in tears." Major A. Polier who was an eye-witness to the funeral scene thus speaks of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and of the effect which his death produced on the mind of the populace in his letter [34] to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) dated Faizabad, the 26th January, 1775: "It is difficult to find words to express the sorrow and grief of almost all his attendants and in general of every inhabitant of this place at his death which makes in my opinion no bad apology of a prince who with many faults and foibles must yet be acknowledged to have been not only (records torn and faded here) but also endowed with many good and worthy qualities." In another letter of the same date written at half-past 7 P.M. he says:—"My heart is too full to say anything further on this subject (Shuja-ud-Daulah's last request) but he is no more."

His body having been washed, purified and wrapped up in a winding-sheet, it was taken up by Mirza Ali Khan and Salar Jang, his Consort's brothers, who, together with the principal grandees of the Court and Officers of the Army and the most eminent men of the city, carried it by turns on their shoulders, all the while preceded and followed by an immense retinue of his horses, elephants and his whole household as also by crowds of people that had been attached to his person. At last the convoy reached *Gulab Bagh*, four miles distant from Faizabad, where his body was entombed.

From the letter[35] of Bahu Begam to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, dated the 22nd March 1775, we find that very soon after her husband's death she earnestly solicited his help to take the body of her husband to Karbala according to his "dying injunctions." In this letter she strongly refuted the charge brought against her by some malicious people that "she is trying to get out of her present insecure position and leave Hindusthan with her wealth under the cloak of a religious duty." She further strongly asserted that "whatever fortune she had, was spent in helping her husband after the Buxar disaster and that her other income was also inconsiderable." However, Warren Hastings, in his letter [36] to her, dated the 25th March 1775, "agreed to offer her every assistance" but warned her that "owing to manifold difficulties and dangers of the passage she should not undertake the voyage to Karbala for the present." Between the 8th and 31st May 1775, further correspondence [37] on this subject passed between her and the Governor-General.

[34] Sec. O. C. 6th February 1775, Nos. 3 and 4.
[35] Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1655.
[36] Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1659.
[37] *Ibid.* letter Nos. 1747 and 1824.

At last we find from her letter [38] to him, dated—(nil) September 1775, " that she abandoned her idea of going to Karbala for the present," but she hoped " that the English authorities at Lucknow would assist her when she would undertake the journey in future." We learn on the authority of the *Tarikh Farahbaksh*[39] that when Bahu Begum was in her death-bed (in the year 1816), she saw in her delirium, the shadowy figure of her husband and she repeatedly told her faithful Minister, Darab Ali Khan, who was in attendance: " Darab! The Great Nawab has come to take me."

[38] Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1922.

[39] A Persian work by Muhammand Faiz Bakhsh, translated into English by William Huey.

# Minutes of the Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at the Library of the Council House in Kaisarbagh, Lucknow, on Friday, the 17th December 1926.

*Present:*

1. Professor JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E., M.A., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University (in the Chair).
2. Mr J. J. COTTON, M.A., I.C.S., Curator, Madras Record Office and Editor, Madras Gazetteer.
3. Mr H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona.
4. Mr R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.B.E., M.A., Principal, Hooghly College.
5. Mr H. L. O. GARRETT, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
6. Mr S. N. ROY, I.C.S. (attended in place of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal).
7. Mr C. W. GWYNNE, O.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow (co-opted).
8. Mr PANNA LALL, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Unao (co-opted).
9. Rai Sahib PRAYAG DAYAL, M.R.A.S., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow (co-opted).
10. Dr RADHA KUMUD MUKHERJI, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University (co-opted).
11. Dr RAM PRASHAD TRIPATHI, M.A., Ph.D., Allahabad University (co-opted).
12. Khan Sahib Maulvi ZAFAR HASAN, B.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Agra (co-opted).
13. Mr J. M. MEHTA, B.A. (Oxon.), Professor of History and Economics, Baroda College (co-opted).
14. Mr SYED KHURSHED ALI, M.A., Hyderabad (co-opted).
15. Mr BINOD BIHARI SEN ROY, M.A., Benares State (co-opted).
16. Mr SYED NASEER-UL-HASAN, M.A., Rampur (co-opted).
17. Monsieur SINGARAVELOU PILLAI, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry (co-opted).
18. Mr MESROVB J. SETH, M.R.A.S., Calcutta (co-opted).

19. Mr A. GHOSH, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, and Honorary Superintendent, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Museum, Calcutta (co-opted).

20. Mr A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Secretary).

**I. Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their eighth meeting.**

A conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their eighth meeting was placed on the table.

The action taken on the Resolutions was approved by the Commission.

**II. Publication of the Bengal and Madras papers collected by the late Sir G. W. Forrest as Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India and preserved in the Imperial Record Department.**

The Bengal and Madras papers are divided into two groups, *viz.*:—

(*i*) the earlier portion ranging from 1671-1746 illustrating the rise of the British Power in India; and

(*ii*) the latter portion ranging from 1746-1785, being intended to throw light on the Indian career of Lord Clive.

The documents were collected from the Madras Record Office by the late Sir G. W. Forrest about the year 1891 and thereafter supplemented by extracts obtained from the records at the India Office. A Press-list of the second portion has been compiled and printed by the Imperial Record Department. The printed copies of the papers which have been lying all this time in the Imperial Record Department are the property of the Government of India, but the late Sir G. W. Forrest was permitted to utilise them in a collection of original documents bearing on the life of Lord Clive which was to have appeared in the Indian Records Series published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Sir G. W. Forrest died before this project had materialised. It would promote the correct understanding of early British Indian history if the papers which he had collected could be made available for the use of students. The Secretary having explained the position before the Commission,

It was resolved that:—

*Resolution 1.*—(*i*) A number of copies of the printed records (3 volumes) should be distributed free to

The Indian Universities (16).

The Record Offices in India.

The Research Societies in India.

The Royal Asiatic Society, London.

The British Museum.

The London University.

The Oxford University.

The Cambridge University.

The India Office.

The Royal Historical Society.

The Manchester University.

(*ii*) And that not more than 200 copies be put up for sale at Rs. 20 per volume and the Press-list at Rs. 15 a copy.

### III. Continuance by the Government of Bengal of the Press-lists of the Committees of Revenue.

Mr R. B. Ramsbotham drew the attention of the Commission to the desirability of continuing the preparation of the Press-lists of the Proceedings of the Committees of Revenue preserved in the Bengal Record Office. Printing *in extenso* is a slow and costly business and calendaring requires trained and well-paid workers, for whom the necessary money could not be provided.

Mr S. N. Roy supported the motion, pointing out that students working in the record room complained that without Press-list they had considerable difficulty in easily tracing papers and records. The continuation of the system would be of great advantage to historical students. It would also be very helpful in the compilation of a handbook.

It was resolved:—

*Resolution 2.*—That the Commission, in view of the changed circumstances of the last seven years, modify their former decision in favour of exclusively calendaring, and recommend that the Government of Bengal resume to print the Press-lists of the Proceedings of the Supreme and Intermediate Revenue Authorities on the lines on which they had been carried on in the past, in order to expedite publication.

### IV. Introduction of Photostat Machines in Government Record Offices for reproducing old documents.

Mr J. J. Cotton placed before the meeting two notes on this subject, one by himself and the other by the British Treasury Office.*

*Mr J. J. Cotton's note on the Photostat Machines.*

When application for copies of old records are received in Record Offices, the documents are picked out and sent to the Departments of Government

* A pamphlet entitled "The Photostat, what it is and what it does" is published by Messrs Photostat, Limited, Bush House, Aldwych, W. C. 2, London.

concerned for copying. (There is no separate copying section for copying for private parties in this Record, which is perhaps the case in other Record Offices in India). The amount of handling to which they are subjected in the offices which prepare the copies is such that the records are rarely returned in the same condition in which they were sent out. Again Courts summon original documents of great antiquity and keep them among their records until the disposal of the case for which they were required, and the documents are not preserved there with the same care with which they are looked after in Record offices. Parties who apply for copies of old documents, in which may be classed all documents over fifty years old, and courts that summon them at their instance should I think be compelled to take copies prepared on the above process on payment of special rates; and in my opinion the introduction of these Photostat Machines in all Government Record Offices is very necessary from the point of view of the preservation of the original records. When copies are so obtained for parties, spare copies may be taken to be kept in the record for future use, for which of course the parties cannot be charged.

As regards the reprinting of old records, it is not possible to give away the originals into the hands of Indian compositors, nor is it any use, considering the knowledge possessed by this class of people, to expect them to compose matter from the copies of records of the 16th, 17th, 18th or 19th century prepared by the Photostat process. Copies of these records will have to be taken as heretofore on the typewriter and sent to the press for printing. The importance of the subject is seen from the following letters* to the "Times" of February 1926 and the leading article* in the "Times" for February 12, 1926.

*Note on the Photostat Machines by the British Treasury Office.*

The Photostat is a machine for obtaining reproductions of documents of all types. As its name implies it depends for its operation on photographic principles. The document of which a copy is required is laid on a flat bed, preferably under a sheet of plate glass and is photographed on sensitised paper, in artificial light from two Mercury Vapour lamps. For normal working the print is delivered into a developing tank, thence to a fixing tank, both of which are part of the machine. Provision of a dark room is therefore obviated. For continuous working, where a segregation of the exposing process from the developing and fixing processes is desirable, it is preferable to provide a dark room to which the prints are conveyed in a dark box or by a conveyor.

Copies made from documents by the Photostat are negative, *i.e.*, black on the original is white on the copy and *vice versâ*. The negative copies are clear and readable and serve all normal purposes. If a positive copy

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* *Vide* pages 140—44.

is desired it may be obtained by copying the negative copy. Coloured matter other than black and white in the original can be copied if desired and is reproduced in shades of grey, though the colours themselves cannot be reproduced. It should be realised that the Photostat copies on to sensitised paper and does not produce a negative plate or film from which positive prints are taken. Within certain limits, originals can be reproduced in an enlarged or reduced form. The ratio of enlargement or reduction can be fairly accurately gauged but it is not claimed that the copies are sufficiently true to scale for all mathematical or engineering purposes.

All Photostat Machines are fitted with an attachment, which enables a book to be held in the correct position for the pages at any opening to be copied.

The time of exposure varies according to the type of matter which is to be copied but, if artificial light is used, it is generally only about 4 seconds. For certain classes of work exposure of 12 seconds is necessary. The whole operation of exposing, developing, and fixing can be carried out in a few minutes but the prints then require to be washed and dried. For continuous working it is probably more economical to carry out certain processes on more than one print at a time. The capacity of the machine is considerable, between 400 and 500 prints can be obtained from one machine in a day.

Photostat Machines are supplied in four sizes, the "No 2" size producing copies of maximum size of 14″ × 18″ being found most suitable for general work. A feature of the machine is that the size of the sensitised paper used can be adjusted to the size of reproduction required subject, of course, to a maximum limit of the capacity of the machine. Use of this feature assists economical working as does also the possibility of making separate exposures on the two halves of a Photostat sheet.

The cost of the machine ranges from £150 for a No 1 model to £275 for a No 4 model. The Mercury Vapour Lamps cost from £32-10-0 to £45 per pair according to the current used. The electrically heated Dryer and other small accessories cost about £50. The total cost of a No 2 machine with all accessories is about £300.

The cost of producing the copies depends to a certain extent upon the output from the machine and to a larger extent upon the cost of the sensitised paper. The paper costs approximately 2·6*d.* per square foot, and if a machine is in normal use the cost of producing copies is from 3*d.* to 3¼*d.* per square foot of copy produced. It will be seen at once that the machine is not economical for producing numerous copies of one subject, nor is its use economical for copying ordinary "straight run" typing. Its use is economical however for taking one or two copies of typewritten or written matter which contains an amount of detail which would necessitate careful arrang-

ing on an ordinary typewriter. An example of this use is the reproduction of Registers of Birth. It was found that one copy of a Register could be reproduced by Photostat at approximately one quarter the cost of typing.

In considering the cost of the Photostat method of copying due regard must be paid to the fact that all risk of error in copying is eliminated and checking is unnecessary. If manuscript is to be copied the Photostat copy can be certified as true without the risk which is inseparable from other methods which necessitate deciphering illegible writing. Records of original documents made by photography are undoubtedly much more satisfactory than those made by typing or writing. If an exact reproduction of a document or book is required the Photostat is the most economical machine for the purpose, hence its extensive use in libraries, museums, and drawing offices. In legal work its use assists in the production of copies which are acceptable to all parties concerned.

The permanency of Photostat records has been severely tested both in this country and in the United States where a very extensive use is made of the machine in all Government Departments. The impressions are unalterable and have been found to be as permanent as the paper on which they are made. The paper is made of linen rag, and is unaffected by light, damp or varying climatic conditions. It has considerable tensile strength and even if crumpled and soaked in water will flatten out sufficiently well for normal use.

It will be realised from the above that the Photostat has considerable potentialities in Government Departments. It is already used for some types of work especially for copying drawings, plans, etc., but its use for other classes of work has not received the consideration which the process merits.

It was resolved:—

*Resolution 3.*—That the Commission welcome the idea of Photostat Machine being introduced in such Record Offices as required frequent reproductions of old documents.

## V. Preservation of the Parasnis Collection at Satara.

Mr H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Deccan College, Poona, placed before the meeting the following note on the Parasnis Collection at Satara.

*Mr H. G. Rawlinson's note.*

This collection was visited by the Historical Records Commission in January 1925. It was got together by the late D. B. Parasnis, and Government provided a Museum for its accommodation. Rao Bahadur Parasnis was negotiating with Government to take it over at the time of his recent death.

The collection falls into two parts (1) Historical documents, papers and books (2) Indian Paintings.

Government is negotiating with the heirs of Rao Bahadur Parasnis to take over the collection of documents and it is understood that they hope shortly to come to an arrangement satisfactory to all concerned. The collection of Indian pictures however (excluding some historical pictures of the time of the Peshwas) is of general rather than local interest, and Government does not feel justified in acquiring this also. It was suggested that the acquisition of these should be left to the public spirit of private individuals interested in Indian art, though it is understood that Government would give every encouragement to raising such a fund, and would also subscribe to it. The Historical Records Commission might perhaps draw attention to the matter. It would be a great pity if such a unique collection were to be allowed to go out of the country and be permanently lost to the nation. This appeal is not merely local. The pictures belong to all periods and styles and would appeal to art lovers all over India. It might be a good thing to draw the attention of the Government of India to the matter, and if unfortunately the collection had to leave the Bombay Presidency it might very well be acquired as a nucleus for a national collection at Delhi.

The following resolutions were passed:—

*Resolution 4.*—(*i*) The Commission are of opinion that the negotiations of the Government of Bombay with Rao Bahadur Parasnis' heirs for acquiring his collection of historical papers should be brought to a speedy conclusion in order to guard against the risk of their being dispersed or lost to the country.

(*ii*) The Commission recommend to the Government of India that steps should be immediately taken to invite subscriptions from the public for purchasing the Parasnis collection of pictures and historical relics for the nation and that the Imperial and Local Governments should be requested to contribute towards the purpose. In this connection the Commission beg to point out that the matter is one of urgent national importance as there is an immediate danger of the collection going out of the country.

## VI. Examination and cataloguing of the Peshwas' Daftar and the Poona Residency Papers.

(See Resolutions V and VI of the Seventh Meeting.)

There was some discussion on this subject. The following resolution was passed:—

*Resolution 5.*—That the Commission are of opinion that the work of examining and cataloguing the Peshwas' Daftar and the Poona Residency

papers should not be delayed any longer, and that the money necessary for the purpose should be provided out of the current year's budget if possible in order to make an immediate start.

### VII. Printing of selected inscriptions from the European graveyards in Western India.

(See also Resolution VII of the Seventh Meeting.)

The Secretary placed on the table two lists of tombs, with inscriptions thereon in the English and Dutch cemeteries at Surat which he had received from the Government of Bombay in accordance with the Resolution VII of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Seventh Meeting. In the circumstances stated by the Local Government it was not possible to prepare lists of the inscriptions on the Armenian and the Portuguese cemeteries at Surat.

It was resolved:—

*Resolution 6.*—That the Commission desire to draw the attention of the Government of Bombay to the necessity of publishing without delay the selected inscriptions from the European graveyards in Western India.

### VIII. Introduction of Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaners in Record Offices.

Some members having pointed out the usefulness of Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaners for removing dust from the records,

It was resolved:—

*Resolution 7.*—That the Commission wish to draw the attention of the various Record Offices to the desirability of having a Sturtevant Vacuum Cleaner for preserving documents from dust.

### IX. Collection of facsimilies of historical documents in the possession of private families in Oudh.

As a result of some discussions on the records at Lucknow the following resolution was passed:—

*Resolution 8.*—That in view of the fact that all public records available in Lucknow appear to have been destroyed, and considering the importance of Lucknow as a historic centre, the Commission recommend that steps should be taken to set up machinery for the collection of facsimilies of all documents of historical value in the possession of private families in the province of Oudh by means of a Photostat or some other method of permanent reproduction and collecting and making them available for scholars.

**X. Appointment of the Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., as a corresponding member for the Bombay Centre.**

At the suggestion of the Secretary it was resolved :—

*Resolution 9.*—That the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, be recommended for appointment as a corresponding member for the Bombay Centre.

**XI. Place of the next meeting.**

It was resolved :—

*Resolution 10.*—That the next meeting of the Commission be held at Rangoon.

XII. The following papers were laid on the table for the information of the Commission :—

(*i*) Annual Reports of the Imperial Record Department and the provincial Record Offices.

(*ii*) Report of the progress of sorting and classification of the Company records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

**Extracts from "The Times" referred to in item IV of the foregoing proceedings.**

(*12th February 1926.*)

SALE OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

In our *Literary Supplement* this week particulars are given of two important collections of English archives which have lately passed to America. It appears that American collectors are turning to English historical manuscripts, other than those of strictly American interest, more and more; but it is suggested, as perhaps their destination indicates, that these two latest collections have been acquired for educational rather than historical purposes. One has gone to the Huntington Library in California and the other to the University Library of Chicago; and in both places they may help to train future investigators, for American literary and historical searchers have hitherto been not too well provided at home with documents from which they can learn the rudiments of their art. Be that as it may, however, the two collections which have just left this country are such as to cause a general regret for their departure. They are full of materials for local history, and their transportation coincides ironically with the new movement for compiling histories of villages. The Huntington Library has acquired an enormous number of documents housed until 1921 among the archives at Stowe; they are family papers, deeds, charters, and the like, and they range in date from 1150 to 1870. There are said indeed to be over a million of them altogether, and one of them appears to be the official copy of the Treaty of Peace between France and England ceding Canada to England. There are also holograph letters of SIR THOMAS LUCY, and much other material of Shakespearian interest. There is little or nothing, however, in which Americans, as Americans, can be supposed to take an interest. The same criticism applies to the BACON family records, the contents of the muniment room at Redgrave Hall, numbering thousands from the 13th to the 17th century, with which the Chicago Library has enriched itself. What is America's gain in one sense is England's loss in another. The most that English students can hope for is that the contents of this vast haul of papers will be given to the world as soon as possible.

Transferences on so large a scale to another country of documents of national interest amply justify the fears which were expressed in these columns two years ago, when a correspondence, mainly by historians, arose on the duty of preserving national records and of keeping them in the land of their origin. In the course of that discussion some practical measures were proposed to obviate some of the worst consequences of a movement which all historians are

bound to deplore. It was proposed, for instance, that a body should be established, after the model of the Historic Monuments Commission, which should draw up lists of records in private possession which it is in the national interest to preserve in this country. It was thought that the Historical Manuscripts Commission would be fitted to undertake this task, on account of its prestige and the favour in which it stands with owners of manuscripts. Secondly it was suggested that, on the analogy of the National Art Collections Fund, there should be an organization for purchasing documents when they come into the market. These were not far-fetched suggestions; but whether they would be sufficient for their purpose, in view of the constant drain of treasures of all kinds westward, and the causes underlying it, may perhaps be doubted. Something more drastic may be needed. Fortunately in virtue of the Law of Property Act, which came into force this year, all manorial documents are now placed under the charge and superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, who has power to have them handed over to suitable custody if in his opinion they are not being properly preserved. Under this Act some at least of Sir Nicholas Bacon's papers would have been saved. An extension of the provision to other records seems desirable—especially in the case of documents of State importance, which in former days often passed into the hands of families closely concerned with them but in these would remain in public custody. Another proposal put forward was that papers sold by auction to purchasers abroad should be photographed and so kept in duplicate, for, while the change of ownership and the transference of a collection are invariably troublesome to historians, not all documents taken abroad are so fortunate as to find a new home in a public library. They may be sold again and again, until their whereabouts becomes almost impossible to trace. Not the least regrettable part of many sales seems to be the lack of patriotism shown by owners. The documents may be valued for all sorts of reasons by collectors; but their main interest lies not in what they are but in what they contain. If their contents are fit to be sold to strangers, they are fit to be examined by Englishmen first.

*(18th February 1926.)*

## Historical Documents.

### Photographs from Small Negatives.

To the Editor of "The Times".

Sir,—In your leading article on the sale of historical documents you refer to the importance of photographing those which are sent abroad. It may be well also to photograph others that are kept at home, in order to make them available for students who have not access to the originals and as a precaution against fire or accidental loss.

It is economical and convenient to take reduced negatives, from which enlarged photographs can be made, or which can be projected, without being photographed, for study by an individual or a class. I have had a special camera made with an arrangement for moving the dark slide backwards and forwards and from one side to the other. On a film 12in. x 10in. I obtain 32 pages which measure 16in. x 11in. The linear reduction is about one-ninth. With a magnifying glass, the negatives can be read with no great difficulty.

The approximate cost of such a negative is about one penny a page. Positives can be taken by contact, and the positives can be sent wherever desired. These small negatives are not only less expensive than full-sized photographs, but they take up far less space, which is sometimes important. Many documents are written on both sides, and so a full-sized photograph may take up twice the space of the original document. The reduced negatives have a bulk that is about one-eightieth of the original and 1-160th of a full-sized photographic copy.

A further convenience of photography is that photographs can sometimes be sent to a printer instead of a transcript being made by hand or on the typewriter. This avoids trouble and expense, and lessens the chance of error.

As an alternative, it is possible that where a large amount of such matter is to be set up the compositor could have the negative projected, and thus the expense of a photographic enlargement be avoided. It is sometimes advisable to make the enlargement, whether projected or photographed, somewhat bigger than the original document. Further, I believe it is possible, though I have not tried the experiment, to spray faded writing with vapour of iodine, and in this, or other ways, make the photograph clearer than the original. I am using these methods for several volumes upon which I am at work, and find that they answer very satisfactorily.

Sir William Ashley refers to the excellent work which is being done by historical scholars in America, to which I would add Canada. Small positives, which could be enlarged or projected, would enable these students to have effective access to valuable documents which, naturally, we should prefer to keep in this country.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM SCHOOLING.

*14, Brook Green, W. 8, Feb. 15.*

*(25th February 1926.)*

NATIONAL DOCUMENTS.

To the Editor of " The Times ".

SIR,—I am glad to see that in your leading article and Sir William Schooling's letter attention is again called to the value of photography in securing to historical students the use of documents which may be, or become, inaccessible. Sir William's letter opens out a prospect of cheaper multiplication which is very cheering, though I suspect that the reversed negatives (white on black) on bromide paper, made by the photostat camera, although more expensive, will continue for some time to be the chief means to our end, since they can be read without a lens. The use of the photostat grows rapidly, and of some 14,000 photographs taken last year from MSS. in this Museum the vast majority were done by this process.

But what I wish to emphasize is that, whichever process is used, photography provides a means whereby an owner of historical documents may salve his conscience and acquit much of his debt to the country without losing all the market value of his papers. Greatly as the value of historical MSS. in general has risen during the last 30 years, their prices would not as yet, with some exceptions, be hopelessly out of reach of public institutions in this country, if it were not for the money-value attached to those rarer autographs and show-pieces of history which the auctioneer lists in separate lots, and trusts to sell at from £5 to £100 per page. They form but an insignificant percentage of the total bulk of a historical collection, but a very large percentage of its price. Surely it is not asking too much of the owner to spend a shilling a page in having them photographed. Most owners, in my experience, have some sense of trusteeship for the records of their forbears and of the responsibilities entrusted to them by their country, but they regard themselves as trustees also for those who come after them, and for their sake cannot part freely with marketable property of this value. My suggestion is a compromise between the two duties. Sell the autographs, if you must, but give photographic copies to the nation; and as for the papers of little price, give them if you can, but if you must sell them, let the national collections have an option.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. P. GILSON.

Department of MSS., British Museum.

Feb. 18.

*(27th February 1926.)*

CANADIAN ARCHIVES.

To the Editor of " The Times ".

SIR,—With further reference to the correspondence relating to the photographing of national records, I agree with Mr. Gilson that it is most necessary for the nation to have the option either of purchasing or of photographing all historical records offered for sale before these are disposed of by their owners. If necessary, legislation could be passed to that effect.

By the process described by Sir William Schooling, of which he has kindly shown me examples, an ordinary manuscript volume can be photographed on nine films of about 12in. square, each film taking as many as 32 pages of the manuscript. No magnifying glass is required to read these films, for by a simple device each section of a film can be projected in a few moments either on a sheet of paper or on a screen, and in such large characters as to be easily read by the naked eye. The cost of this whole process does not exceed 2*d*. per folio page.

In the Public Archives at Ottawa a photostat was installed over 15 years ago, and on an average we turn out some 2,500 pages a month of reproductions of manuscripts for the public and for students. By this new process not only would the expenditure be greatly reduced, but maps and plans relating to any special subject could be collected on a few films. These would then contain all the maps on that subject in a very small space. To consult any map it only has to be screened. This preserves the original from all wear and tear. The same process could also be applied to historical prints. The distribution of these films to various centres would further facilitate historical research, especially in a country like Canada, where the distances are so great.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. G. DOUGHTY,

Keeper of the Records of the Dominions of Canada.

LONDON,

*Feb. 26.*

# APPENDIX A.

## Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab on the Resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Eighth Meeting.

| Resolutions of the Commission. | Orders of the Government of India. | Action taken by Local Governments or Native States. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Resolution I.*—That the Commission re-affirms its previous recommendation to the Government of India that an additional grant of Rs. 2,000 in the Commission's budget allotment be made in order to meet the expenses of the Historical Exhibition and the contingent charges of the Commission. | Sanctioned. | | |
| *Resolution II.*—That the local co-opted members of the 8th session, namely :—<br>1. Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A.<br>2. Mr J. R. Firth, M.A.<br>3. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A.<br>4. Rai Bahadur Pundit Sheo Narain be recommended to the Government of India for appointment as corresponding members of the Commission for the Punjab centre. | Approved. | | |
| *Resolution III.*—That Mr C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, be recommended for appointment as corresponding member for the Madras centre in place of Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai, deceased. | Do. | | |
| *Resolution IV.*—That the Punjab Government be requested to issue instructions for the preservation of the documents known as *kaifiati dehi* prepared during the early settlements for each village in the province, and that on the occasion of the revision of settlements the *kaifiats* of the preceding settlements may be transposed to the records of the revised settlements. | | The Government of the Punjab have stated that under existing orders the *Kaifiati dehi* is preserved in perpetuity and kept as carefully as possible and that the documents would be much damaged if transposed to the records of revised settlements. The local Government do not therefore propose to take any action on the suggestion of the Commission. | |

# APPENDIX B.

## List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (corrected up to the 16th December 1926).

| Names. | Centres. |
|---|---|
| 1. Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra. | Agra. |
| 2. Mr S. T. Sheppard, Editor, The "Times of India," Bombay.<br>3. Mr G. S. Sardesai, B.A.<br>4. Mr D. V. Potdar, B.A., Professor, New Poona College, Poona.<br>5. Sardar G. N. Mujumdar, M.L.C., Poona. | Bombay and Poona. |
| 6. Dr Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.<br>7. Reverend H. Hosten, S.J., M.A.<br>8. Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hidayet Hosain.<br>9. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichæl Professor of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University.<br>10. Mr Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Assistant Registrar, Appellate Side, Calcutta High Court. | Calcutta. |
| 11. Mr A. F. Rahman, B.A. (Oxon)<br>12. Mr J. C. Sinha, M.A., Reader in Economics, Dacca University.<br>13. Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman, Member of the Dacca University Court. | Dacca. |
| 14. Dr Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. | Kolhapur. |
| 15. Mr A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Dean of University Instruction, Lahore.<br>16. Mr J. R. Firth, M.A., Professor, Government College, Lahore.<br>17. Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.<br>18. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, President, Punjab Historical Society, Lahore. | Lahore. |

| Names. | Centres. |
|---|---|
| 19. Dr Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, Lucknow University. | Lucknow. |
| 20. Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S. | Madras. |
| 21. Dr John Mathai, B.L., B.Litt., D.Sc. | |
| 22. Mr M. Ruthnaswami, President, Madras Legislative Council. | |
| 23. Mr C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., I.C.S. | |
| 24. Mr C. Hayavadana Rao. | |
| 25. Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. | |
| 26. Mr J. F. W. James, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, I.C.S. | Patna. |
| 27. Mr J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History, Patna College. | |
| 28. Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry. | Pondicherry. |
| 29. Mr D. G. E. Hall, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History and Fellow of the University of Rangoon. | Rangoon. |

# APPENDIX C.

## Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings, etc., exhibited at Lucknow in connection with the 9th Annual meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

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### From the Imperial Record Department.

1. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department: there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. February-March 1835. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835; no 19 and Keep-Withs.)

2. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (G. G.'s Pub. 24 Nov. 1839, no 10.)

3-4. Minutes by Lord Clive regarding Mr. Burdett's behaviour and his resignation. Holographs. [Pub. 2 Sep. 1765, no 2 (a).]

5-9. Copies of *farmans* from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous *Diwan*, in consequence of the above grant. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, nos 2-6.)

10-12. Minutes of the Board on Dadney purchases, establishing liberty of trade, and prohibiting any attempt to force advance upon weavers. In Warren Hastings' handwriting. (Pub. 12 Apr. 1773, nos 6-8.)

13. Minute of Lord Dalhousie taking exception to an apparently erroneous personal description of himself in a letter of Attorney sent to him by the Court of Directors for his signature. Holograph. (Pub. 18 Aug. 1851.)

14-17. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postage. These papers show what attempts were made at the time to print the stamps in India. (Pub. 18 Mar. 1853, no 1; 1 Jul. 1853 nos 1-3; 12 May 1854 nos 44-45; 19 May 1854, no 64.)

18. Contract between the East India Company and the East Indian Railway Company for the extension of the Experimental railway line to Delhi, 15 Feb. 1854 (Mss).

**From the Imperial Record Department**—*contd.*

19. Incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. (Pub. 12 Dec. 1856, nos 54-55.)

20. Proclamation issued by the Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny of 1857 together with its translation. Received from Mr. Wynyard, the then judge at Gorrukhpore. (Pub. 7 Aug. 1857, no 137.)

21. *Farmans* relating to the English trade in India particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Mahomedan rulers and Governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translation.

22. Communication in Latin from the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna 8 July 1792, to Haidar Ali, regarding the appointment of Mr. W. Bolts as his consul and Lt. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.

23. Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch settlements in India to the English, dated 22 February 1845.

24. Original letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. Bears the original signature of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

25. Translation of a treaty of alliance between the *Vazir* Shuja-ud-Daulah, and the Rohilla *Sardars*. Writen II Rabi-ul-awwal, 1186 A. H. (Sec. 23 Jul. 1772, no 3.)

26. Translation of an agreement on the part of the Rohilla *Sardars* with the *Vazir*, the terms being that the *Vazir* is to free the Rohilla country of the Marathas either by peace or by war, and that the *Sardars* are to pay him 40 lakhs of Rupees for his assistance. (Sec. 23 Jul. 1772, no 3.)

27. Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council, intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh in consideration for a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees and also his having settled certain other matters with the Nawab. (Sec. 23 Sep. 1773, no 3.)

28. Letter from Major A. Polier, reporting that the *Nawab Vazir* Shuja-ud-Daulah is dying. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 3.)

29. Letter from Major A. Polier, reporting the *Nawab Vazir's* (Shuja-ud-Daulah's) death, and communicating his last request. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 4.)

30. Translation of a letter from Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah written just before his death, requesting the English to support his son Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 5.)

31. Letter from Muhammad Elich Khan requesting the protection of the English for himself and the new Nawab. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 6.)

**From the Imperial Record Department**—*contd.*

32. Letter from N. Middleton, Resident at the court of the *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh, giving an account of some of the notable persons at the *Vazir's* Court. (Sec. 6 Feb. 1775, no 7.)

33. From Bahu Begam, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh, complaining against the behaviour of her son and asking for the assistance of the Governor-General in sending the coffin of her late husband Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to Karbala. (Pers. 15 Nov. 1778, no 117.)

34. From Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh. Complimentary letter written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (Pers. 3 Nov. 1784, no 86.)

35. From Haidar Beg Khan, a minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh. Expresses pleasure at the recovery of the King of England from his illness. Sends a *nazar* of 101 gold mohurs to be forwarded to the King of England and Rs. 10,000 to be distributed among the poor. Bears the seal of the writer. (Pers. 11 Aug. 1789, no 175.)

36. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh, intimating that Wazir Ali Khan has absconded after having killed Mr. G. Cherry, Agent of the Governor General, and four other gentlemen at Benares. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (Pers. 12 Feb. 1799, no 25.)

37. From Raja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur, promising not to give protection to Wazir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr. Cherry, Agent of the Governor General at Benares. Bears the seal of the Raja. (Pers. 1 July 1799, no 174.)

38. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur, informing the Governor General that Wazir Ali Khan has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. Bears the seal of the Maharaja 1799 A. D. (Pers. 17 Sep. 1799, no 260.)

39. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh, intimating that Wazir Ali Khan has been arrested in Jaipur and made over to Mr. Collins. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (Pers. 21 Dec. 1799, no 435.)

40. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares, reporting that the Marathas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Qadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (Pers. 24 Oct. 1788, no 501.)

41. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his *Vakils* to the Governor General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. 1792 A. H. (Pers. 20 Feb. 1792, no 114.)

**From the Imperial Record Department**—*contd.*

42. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (Pers. 10 Feb. 1799, no 19.)

43. From Sultan Muhiuddin, son of Tipu Sultan. Thanks the Governor General for the *Khilat* and Jewels received through Captain Marriot who is to stay with him at the fort of Vellore until the return of Col. Doveton from Chinapatan (Madras). Is much obliged to him, his Council and Col. Doveton for their uniform courtesy and attention. (Pers. 19 Oct. 1799, no 329.)

44. From Munni Begam. Sends a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the seal of the Begam. (Pers. 5 Nov. 1795, no 312.)

45. Specimen of handwriting in English of Abdul Ghyas Khan, son of Nawab Jabbar Khan of Afghanistan, while being educated at Ludhiana in 1834. (Pol. 21 Nov. 1834, no 145.)

46. Application of Samru Begam for a title to her heir Mr. Dyce Samru with a forwarding letter from the latter in his own handwriting. Bears the seal and initials of the Begam. (Pol. 24 Feb. 1835, nos 77-80.)

47. From Peshwa Narayan Rao. Says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor General to do the same. (Pers. 12 Dec. 1778, no 138.)

48. From Nana Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa, asking the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the writer. (Pers. 14 Nov. 1785 no 94.)

49. From Nana Farnavis. Reports that Madho Rao II, Peshwa died on the 13 *Rabi* II (27 October) in consequence of the injuries received from a fall from his balcony. Bears the Nana's seal. (Pers. 23 Nov. 1795, no 353.)

50. From the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Approves of the suggestion made by Col. Palmer that before declaring war against Tipu, who has concluded a secret treaty with the French, it is necessary to enquire from him whether he still adheres to his engagements made at Seringapatam. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. 1798 A.D. (Pers. 20 Sept. 1798, no 361.)

51. From the Raja of Travancore. Has learnt from his (Governor General's) letter that the Dutch Government have directed their Governor to deliver up Cochin to the English. The Governor seems to ignore the com-

**From the Imperial Record Department**—*contd.*

mands of his masters and will therefore have to be punished. Bears the Raja's seal and signature. (Pers. 6 Oct. 1795, no 271.)

52. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur to Col. Murray. Informs him that Captain Murray has gone to the *mela* of Bhakkarji and to Chandgari to buy horses. Written in characteristic *Shikastah* style. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 25 Nov. 1795, no 359.)

53. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar, of Mysore, expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (Pers. 12 July 1799, no 198.)

54. From the Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor General on the success of the English fleet at Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (Pers. 28 Sept. 1799, no 286.)

55. Address presented to Lord Canning, Governor General, by the Rajas of the Punjab and the Chiefs of Peshawar on the occasion of his visit to those places, 1859. Original in Persian together with the printed English translation. (For. Misc. no 384.)

56. A manuscript showing the various styles of Persian calligraphy. Illuminated folios.

57. Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaris and the Marathas, 1811 to 1821. (For. Misc. Vol., no 124.)

58. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England *viâ* Red Sea. (Pol. 11 Sept. 1812, nos 7-9.)

59. Tibetan wood-block. It is a block to print on paper or cotton, a charm invoking the protection of Jhambala, the god of riches. The upper part consists of a gem in the centre, being the emblem of the god, and surrounded by Sanskrit mantras in *Tibetan* script. Under the charm itself is cut out, in Tibetan, an explanation of the charm, with directions as to its use.

60. Ticket for admission to the trial of Warren Hastings.

61. The *Aina-i-Sikandar* (Persian newspaper) printed at the Ainai-Sikandar Press, Calcutta, 1837.

62. The *Mah-i-Alam Afroz* (Persian newspaper) printed at the Mah-i-Alam Afroz Press, Calcutta, 1840.

63. The *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* (Persian newspaper) published from Calcutta, 1839.

### From the Imperial Record Department—*concld.*

64. The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* (Persian newspaper) printed at the Mission Press, Calcutta, 1839.

65. The *Akhbari-Ludhiana,* (Persian newspaper) printed at the American Mission Press, Ludhiana, 1836-40.

### Specimens of the repairing work done in the Imperial Record Department.

66. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of *inlaying* work. This book was hopelessly damaged by larvæ and had almost become a solid mass of paper.

67. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated and damaged sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding.

68. Manuscripts illustrating evil effect of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and replaced by *mouseline de soie* (*chiffon*).

### From the Government of Bengal.

69. *Proceedings of the Select Committee, dated 9 January to 31 December 1766* (Vol. II of the Select Committee) contains the autographs of Lord Clive, Brig. General John Carnac, Henry Verelst and Francis Sykes, Members of the Committee (p. 27).

70. *Committee of Circuit at Rajmahal. Original Consultation No 1 of 15 February 1773.*

    Letter dated 5 February 1773, from the Revenue Board, consisting of the whole Council to the Committee of Circuit at Rajmahal approving of the settlement of Dinajpur and Silberis (at present in Bogra District).

    The paper contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, General R. Barker and T. Lane.

71. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue. Original Consultation No 1 of 6 December 1773.*

    Letter dated 23 November 1773, from the Board of Revenue, consisting of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue stating that the Collectors appointed in districts for the collection of revenue have been re-called and formulating the constitution of the Provincial Councils of Revenue for the same purpose for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar which were to be divided into six grand divisions for the better administration of revenues.

**From the Government of Bengal**—*contd.*

The letter explains an important phase in the revenue administration of the country during the Government of Hastings. Besides this, it contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, W. Aldersay, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell and others who composed the Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council.

72. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council. Original Consultation No 17 of 11 June 1773.*

Petition of Loknath Nandi, Gokul Chandra Ghosal, Darpa Narayan Thakur and Kashinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijili (now in the district of Midnapore) to W. Hastings, President and Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William representing their grievances in not having the terms of their contract acted upon.

The signatories to the petition were all well-known people in their own days, and their families constitute great houses in this generation as well. Loknath Nandi was the son of the famous Kanta Babu, *Benian* to Warren Hastings and is the founder of the Kassimbazar Raj Family and the Bhukailash Raj Family traces its origin from Gokul Chandra Ghosal.

73. *Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council. Original Consultation No 6 of 26 November 1773.*

Letter in French, dated 1773, from the Chief and Council of the French Settlement at Chandernagore, complaining against the conduct of Mr. Barwell whose sepoys apprehended a jamadar attached to the French Factory.

The signatories to the letter constituted the Chief and Council of the French Factory at Chandernagore.

74. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 1 of 12 September 1775.*

Joint Minute of Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell, a member of the Supreme Board on the conduct of Mr. W. M. Thackeray, Collector of Sylhet, in farming the district in his own account contrary to the standing orders of Government.

Mr. Richard Barwell as a member of the Council supported all along the Governor General in his proceedings. Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray, was the grandfather of the great novelist.

75. *Calcutta Committee of Revenue. Original Consultation No 1 of 20 October 1775.*

Letter dated 16 October 1775, from the Revenue Department of the Governor General of Bengal to the Calcutta Committee of Re-

venue requesting to be informed if the French have established within the jurisdiction of the Committee any factories or residencies except their settlements at Chandernagore and Balasore.

This letter bears the autographs of the Governor General and the members of his Council *viz.*, Warren Hastings, George Monson, Philip Francis, Richard Barwell and John Clavering.

76. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 12 of 21 May 1776.*

Draft of a *sanad* granting the *zamindari* of Burdwan to Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur.

77. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 10 of 30 November 1779.*

Petition of Kissen Kanta Nandi (commonly known as Kanta Babu, the founder of the Kassimbazar Raj Family) complaining against Krishnananda Sarkar, a dismissed *Gomashta* (agent) of his, with regard to his mercantile affairs in Calcutta.

78. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 26 of 27 October 1780.*

Translation of a letter received on the 7th October 1780, from Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah, *Nawab Nazim* of Bengal, conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chand of Nadia.

Raja Shib Chandra was the son of Maharajendra Krishna Chandra, the founder of the Raj Family. The letter gives an idea as to how *sanads* were granted in Hastings' time. A reference to the native title of the Governor General which runs as "*Amaudul Doula* Governor-General Mr. Hastings Bahadur *Jalladut Jung*" will also be found.

79. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 28 of 27 October 1780.*

Draft of a letter dated 27 October 1780, from the Governor General and Council to the Calcutta Provincial Council of Revenue sanctioning the conferment of the title of *Maharajadhiraj* on Raja Shib Chandra of Krishnagar.

80. *Revenue Department, papers regarding permanent settlement of Bengal and Bihar. Original Consultation No 3 of 18 September 1789.*

Holograph minute of the Governor General (Lord Cornwallis) reviewing the points raised by Sir John Shore with regard to making the settlements in the province of Bengal and Bihar permanent and expressing his opinion in favour of the settlement being made permanent.

**From the Government of Bengal**—*concld.*

81. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 4 of 18 September 1789.*

Minute by Sir John Shore in reply to the objection of the Governor General to his propositions on the Bihar Settlement.

82. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 1 of 21 December 1789.*

Minute dated the 8th December 1789 by Sir John Shore advancing arguments against the revenue settlements of the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar being made " fixed and unalterable ".

83. *Revenue Department. Original Consultation No 52 of 10 February 1790.*

Minute of Lord Cornwallis dated 3rd February 1790, with appendices, reviewing the foregoing minute of Sir John Shore and recording his views as to why the revenue settlement of the provinces should be made on a permanent basis. These minutes are famous.

84. *Judicial Department. Criminal Branch. Original Consultation No 11 of 24 July 1813.*

Minute of the Governor General (Lord Minto) suggesting alterations and revisions to be made in Regulation V of 1809 of the Bengal Code relating to the law of allegiance and desiring that the same changes be made in the Bombay Regulation as well. (Bears the autograph of the Earl of Minto).

85. *Judicial Department. Criminal Branch. Original Consultation No 16 of 12 August 1817.*

Governor General's Minute dated—October 1815 on the Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Fort William. (Bears the autograph of the Marquis of Hastings.)

86. *Proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instructions 1823-1828. Extract pp. 71-74.*

Holograph letter from Lord Amherst to Mr. J. H. Harrington, President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, regretting his inability to preside on the occasion of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Hindoo College at Calcutta in 1824.

**From the Imperial Library, Calcutta.**

87. The Lucknow Album.

88. An illustrated historical Album of the Rajas and Talukdars of Oudh. By Darogha Haji Abbas Ali.

89. A Panorama of the city of Lucknow.

**From the Imperial Library, Calcutta**—*contd.*

90. Dodgson's " General Views and Special Points of Interest of the City of Lucknow ".
91. An old Persian Map of the Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar.
92. Panorama of the city of Lahore. (Painted in water colour 1840.)
93 Eighteen pictures relating to Old Army System in Company's days.

**From the Moslem Institute, Calcutta.**

94. Persian translation cf the Mahabharat by Abul Fazl.
95. Ramayan of Tulsi Das in Persian characters.

PAINTINGS.

96. Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh.
97. Qutb-ul-Mulk Nawab Saiyid Abdullah Khan the " King Maker ".

**From the Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia.**

98. Jewelled dagger presented by the Emperor Jahangir to Maharaja Bhabanand Majumdar (of Nadia).

**From Prince Gholam Husain Shah (of the Mysore Family).**

PAINTINGS.

99. Portrait of Tipu Sultan.
100. The Mughal Emperors.

**From Prince Ahmad Halim-uz-Zaman (of the Mysore Family).**

101. Portrait of Tipu Sultan.
102. Timur's Sword with the following epigram inscribed in Persian:—

" In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. The hand of God is above their hands. The irresistible sword, the enemy killer, the victorious, the sword of the King of Kings, the Monarch of Monarchs, the Sultan Sahib Qiran His Majesty Amir Timur, May God perpetuate his kingdom and Empire ".

**From Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, Calcutta.**

103. A manuscript " Life of Christ " in classical Armenian with coloured steel engravings, written at Julfe a suburb of Ispahan (Persia) in 1707 A. D. by Father Jacob Villotte, S. J., a French Jesuit and a re-

**From Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, Calcutta**—*concld.*

nowned Armenian scholar, with a life of the author in English by Mesrovb J. Seth.

104. A Latin-Armenian Dictionary by Father Jacob Villotte, S. J., a French Jesuit missionary in Persia and Armenia for twenty-five years towards the end of the seventeenth century. Printed at Rome in 1714.

105. A Persian-Armenian Dictionary printed at Constantinople in 1826.

106. A Latin translation of the History of Armenia by Moses Chorenensis printed at London with the Armenian text in 1736. This is the *first* Armenian book printed in England.

107. A book of Exhortations and historical Miscellany printed at Madras in 1772. This is the *first* Armenian book printed in India.

108. The Life and Works of the Armenian Catholics (Pontiff) Abraham, a personal friend of Nadir Shah whose sword he blessed when that great warrior assumed the sovereignty of Persia. This is the first Armenian book that was printed in Calcutta in 1796, by the Rev. Joseph Stephen, Vicar of the Armenian Church of Nazareth at Calcutta.

109. The complete numbers of the first Armenian journal "AZDARAR" printed and published at Madras from 1794-96. This is the first Armenian newspaper in the world. It was edited, printed and published by the Rev. Arrathoon Shumaron of Shiraz who was the priest of the Armenians at Madras from 1784-1824. There is a copy of the Farman of the Nawab of the Carnatic (Walajah) granting permission to the editor of the "Azdarar" to publish books in Arabic and Persian at his press. This is one of the three copies of the Journal extant.

110. Sacred Songs and Hymns of the Armenian Church printed at Amsterdam in 1685 with illustrations.

**From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta.**

111. *Qasida* in praise of Hazrat Muhammad and his immediate disciples Hasan and Husain, etc., written in the year 1194 A. H. in the month and day of 1 *Rajab*, bearing seal of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, King of Oudh.

112. Qasida composed in praise of King George III on the occasion of his birthday by the famous poet Insha Allah, son of Masha Allah, wishing perpetuity of the happy relation between Nazim-ul-Mulk Bahadur, King of Oudh and His Majesty.

113. *Tawarikh Kaba* or *Fath-ul-Haramain*, written by Ghulam Ali Ansari in Mecca for Emperor Akbar the Great, *San.* 997 A.H.

**From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi, Calcutta—*concld.***

114. A perforated petition from Pir Khan to Asaf-ud-Daulah, King of Oudh, praying for the restitution of his forfeited land.

115. Album of the portraits of the Emperor and other scions of the house of Timur, beginning from Timur to Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi.

**From Rai Manilal Nahar Bahadur, Calcutta.**

PAINTINGS.

116. Rhinoceros.

117. Miniature on ivory by a Patna artist. (3 Portraits in one frame).

118. Morning Star.

119. Dwadash Rashi Chakra (Patna Style).

120. A Yogi (Siyah Qalam, Indo-Persian).

121. Jaina Jati and Shrawak (Guru and followers).

122. Charak Puja in Bihar.

123. Village Scene, Bihar Plough.

124. Weaving.

125. Sanyasi playing on a violin.

**From Mr. P. K. Das, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.**

126-7. Two Palm Leaf Manuscripts in gold letters of Bissuddhi Maggo, a book which can very well be termed the Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were received by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886 from Buddhist Monastery in Siam.

128. A manuscript recovered from a remote Monastery in Tibet for a long time regarded as lost.

**From Mr. A. Ghose, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.**

FARMAN OF AURANGZIB.

129. *Farman* of the Emperor Aurangzib bearing his autograph inscription, the state seal and titles written in *Tughra* style in gold, giving directions concerning matters relating to Bijapur, Ellichpur, etc.

PAINTINGS.

130. Bahadur Shah.

131. Prince Danyal, son of Akbar, and his wife Janan Begam, daughter of Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim Khan.

**From Mr. A. Ghose, M.A., B.L., Calcutta**—*concld.*

132. Nur Jahan entertaining—By Balchand.
133. Nadir Shah receiving the Imperial Jewels after the sack of Delhi. Bears on its back the seal of the Emperor Shah Alam.
134. Habash Khan, an Abyssinian officer of Shah Jahan.
135. Rizyia Sultana by Ram, a court painter of Akbar.
136. Jahangir and Nur Jahan.
137. Shah Husain Dhadda of Lahore.
138. Maulana Rumi.
139. Guru Nanak.

**From Mr. F. E. Youd, Calcutta.**

140. An ivory miniature of Najm-ud-Daulah, *Nawab Nazim* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1765-66.
141. An ivory miniature of Saif-ud-Daulah, *Nawab Nazim* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1766-70.
142. An ivory miniature of Mubarak-ud-Daulah, *Nawab Nazim* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1770-93.
143. An Indian Prince and Princess.
144. An illuminated, illustrated Persian translation of Mahabharat by Naqib Khan, a pupil of Abul Fazl, one of the ministers of the Emperor Akbar.

**From Mr. Muhammad Isa, Calcutta.**

145. An illuminated, illustrated Manuscript copy of Shahanamah of Firdausi. The copy was transcribed in Kashmir in A. H. 1245, A. D. 1830.

**From Messrs. S. M. Rafi & Sons, Calcutta.**

146. An album containing portraits of the Mughal Emperors and their Queens. (24 folios.)

**From Mr. A. Stephen, Calcutta.**

PAINTINGS.

147. Pictures of the Nawabs and Begams of Oudh.
148. Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh with his wife.
149. Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah of Oudh.

**From Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Calcutta.**

150. The Original Portrait of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, Anglo-Indian Poet and Reformer.

(From the Oriental Herald, 1830.)

151. The Original Works of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, Anglo-Indian Poet and Reformer, 1828. (2 Books.)

**From Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.**

ENGRAVING.

152. The Delhi Darbar, 1807.

**From Mr. M. N. Chatterji, Imperial Record Department.**

153. Portrait of Nawab Saiyid Ghulam Husain Khan, Author of Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin.

**From Maulvi Irtiza Ali, Imperial Record Department.**

154. Portrait of Mir Babar Ali Anis, the well-known poet of Lucknow.

**From the Hyderabad Darbar.**

PHOTOGRAPHS.

155. Customs Code endorsed by Nizam Ali Khan.
156. Famine Code endorsed by Nizam Ali Khan.
157. District Report endorsed by Nizam Ali Khan.
158. Ditto
159. Specimen of the office papers of the time of Aurangzib.
160. Ditto.
161. Ditto.
162. Ditto.
163. A very old map of the Nizam's Dominions.
164. Ditto.
165. An old Bijapur *suba* diagram.
166. A very old detailed sketch of the Odgir Fort.

COPIES.

167. Akhbar of Shahjahanabad, dated 14th *Rabius Sani* 1183.
168. Akhbar of Shahjahanabad, dated 7th *Rajab* 1187.

**From the Hyderabad Darbar**—*concld.*

169. Akhbar of Asaf-ud-Dowlah, dated 4th *Ziqada* 1209.
170. Akhbar of Asaf-ud-Dowlah, dated 6th *Ziqada* 1209.
171. Diary of the Emperor of Delhi.
172. Dairy of the Emperor of Delhi, *1st Jamadi* 1207.
173. Akhbar of Tipu Sultan. Received on 2nd Shawwal 1210 A. H.

**From the Benares Darbar.**

PAINTINGS.

174. Akbar drinking water from a well.
175. Nawab Raushan-ud-Daulah Bahadur Rustam Jung.
176. Dārbar of a Nawab of Oudh.
177. Shah Jahan on a gondola.
178. Darbar of Shah Alam.
179. Shah Jahan on horseback.

**From the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.**

PAINTINGS.

180. Timur's attack on the Hill Tribes of Qandahar.
181. Hazrat Babar Badshah is seated on a chair under a royal canopy attended by courtiers. A grand looking old man with a white turban is produced handcuffed before the Emperor. A reference to Beveridge's New Translation of Babar's Memoirs, p. 459 shows that the person is no other than Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab under Ibrahim Lodi, who on January 5, 1526, offered to serve Babar and to surrender the Fort of Milwat, if the Emperor graciously pardoned his faults. "Mir-i-Miran was sent to chase fear from his heart and to escort him out; he came and with him his son Ali Khan." Ali Khan, who can so readily be distinguished on account of the striking resemblance of his features to those of his father, is shown standing just behind in white dress.

SEAL.

182. Cast of Bhitari seal of Kumaragupta II written in Sanskrit prose and Gupta characters. The upper part of the seal is occupied by representation of Garuda, the vehicle of Vishu. The contents of the inscrip-

### From the Provincial Museum, Lucknow—*concld.*

tion are purely genealogical. The chief importance of it lies in its extending the early Gupta genealogy by two generations, *i.e.*, Narasinhagupta and Kumaragupta II, (the grandson and the great grandson of Kumaragupta I,) respectively. The other point of interest in the epigraph is omission of Skandagupta and mention of Puragupta his brother, instead, which would indicate that, whether Skandagupta left a successor or not, there was a formal division of early Gupta territories in the generation of these two brothers. The inscription further supplies the names of three queens of the Gupta dynasty which were not known before, namely, Anantadevi, Vatasadevi, and Mahalakshmi.

183. A set of 15 electroplated casts of coins of Greek and Scythian rulers of North-western India.

184. A set of 15 casts of Kushanas, Later Kushan and mediaeval coins.

185. A set of 15 casts of coins of the Imperial Guptas.

186. A set of 12 casts of coins of Mughal, Pathan and Oudh Kings.

187. Cast of a 200-mohar piece of Shah Jahan.

### From the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow.

188. Persian Bust (Original).

189. Persian portrait with a cup in hand (Original).

190. Jodh Bai (Original).

191. Portrait of a writer (Reproduction).

192. Persian Embassy at the Court of Jahangir (Reproduction).

193. Kabir (Reproduction).

194. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati (Reproduction).

195. Aurangzib returning in a boat (Reproduction).

196. Shahjahan (Original).

197-9. Three photographs of the Kings of Oudh.

200-206. Seven photographs of the Kings of Oudh.

### From Hussainabad Trust, Lucknow.

207. Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar.

208. Muhammad Ali Shah.

209. Nawab Mumtaz-ud-Daulah.

**From Hussainabad Trust, Lucknow—*concld.***

210. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah with the British Resident witnessing the cock-fight and several other paintings.
211. Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar with a group of paintings.
212. Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah with a group of paintings.
213. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (going to Calcutta).
214. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan (going to shooting).

**From the Library of Mumtaz-ul-Ulama, Lucknow.**

215. *Istiqsa-ul-Itabar* (a religious book from the library of the last 2 Kings of Oudh as shown by the seals on the book).
216. *Alam ul Wara* (religious book from the library of King Wajid Ali Shah, last King of Oudh written in 1081 A. H.) very rare.
217. *Istihzar* (a religious book written in 983 A. H. Rare).
218. *Balad-ul-Amin* (description of Mecca written in 989 A. H.).
219. *Tahzib-ul-Asnam* (theological discussions written in 968 A. H.).
220. *Zawil-ul-Ayat* (Interpretation of Quranic verses) from the library of Emperor Aurangzib as shown by a seal on the book; very rare.
221. *Tahzib-ul-Kamal* (book on theology written in 773 A.H., very old style of writing).
222. *Tanzid* (book on theology) written in 637 A.H. very old style.
223. *Tahsil Ain ul Zah* (theology written in 519), very old style.
224. *Zeheeb ul Lughat* (The civilisation of the Lexicon), from the library of King Wajid Ali Shah with his seal.
225. *Man La Yahzar* (Theological discussions written before 344 A. H. as shown by a note of author . . . very rare).
226. Commentary on the *Diwan* of Himasa writen in 512 A. H.
227. *Sharh i Irshad* (religious book from the library of King Muhammad Shah).
228. *Nahj-ul-Balaghat* (golden in the handwriting of Mulla Majlesi) rare.

**From Amirud-Daulah Library, Lucknow.**

229. Procession of a Hindu Woman to the Funeral Pile of her Husband.
230. A View of Agra taken from the South West.
231. Detail of patera, Jodh Bai's palace, Fatehpur Sikri.
232. The North Entrance into the Fort of Bangalore.
233. The South Entrance into the Fort of Bangalore.

**From Amirud-Daulah Library, Lucknow—*concld.***

234. The third Delhi gate of Bangalore.
235. A Moorish mosque at Bangalore.
236. North View of the Great Pagoda and Tank at Tanjore.
237. North Entrance of Tipu's palace at Bangalore.
238. West front of Tipu's palace, Bangalore.
239. Mosque at Lucknow.
240. View of Muttra, on the River Jumna.

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS, NOS. 11-13, 15 AND 20-22.

241. *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh.*
242. *Savanih-i-Dakan.*
243. *Waqiat-i-Babari.*
244. *Tarikh-i-Saadat.*
245. *Tuzall-i-Jaimmi.*
246. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh.* Vol. II.
247. *Tarikh-i-Alfi.* Vol. I.
248. *Tarikh-i-Alfi.* Vol. II.
249. *Sanskrit Manuscripts,* Nos. 44, 46, and 47.
250. *Pali Manuscripts in Tin Leaves and Palm Leaves,* Nos. 262, 263 and 264. (Nos. 262 and 263 in Palm Leaves.)
251. *Hindi Manuscript,* No. 265 *Hindi Raslila.*

**From Saiyid Jalib, Editor " Hamdam," Lucknow.**

252. *Lataif-us-Saadat,* Anecdotes of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh, compiled by the well known poet Saiyid Jusha " Courtier of Alamgir II and Shah Alam II Emperors ". (Rare copy.)

253. " *Amad Namah* in Afghani language " compiled by Nawab Muhabbat Khan son of Nawab Hafizul Mulk, ruler of Rohilkhand by order of Prince Mirza Jahandar Shah, heir apparent of Shah Alam II, Emperor of Delhi. (Very rare copy.)

254. *Tazkirah* of the Persian poets in Oudh Court, pupils of Mirza Fakhir " *Makin* " compiled by Lala Mohan Lal " Anis." (Original copy.)

255. A treatise on the question of *Muta* and *Mirat-i-Ahwal Jahan Numa,* a description of the travels of a Persian scholar and theologian Jani Ahmad, son of Muhammad Ali, son of Muhammad Baqir Ispahani in the 3rd quarter of the 18th century has been received in the court of

**From Saiyid Jalib, Editor, " Hamdam," Lucknow**—*concld.*

Asaf-ud-Daulah and Begams. (Both bound in one volume.) (Very rare copy.)

256. Persian Prose by Sadruddin, a noble of the court of Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi and Nawab Safdar Jang of Oudh. (Original copy.)

257. *Kulliyat-i-Faiz*, Persian and Urdu poems of Nawab Sadruddin, noble of the court of Muhammad Shah, Emperor of Delhi and Nawab Safdar Jang of Oudh. (Original copy.)

258. *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, History of the reign of the Emperor Jahangir (some leaves lost and some perforated).

259. *Tazkirah Daulat Shah* Samarqandi, from the library of Shams-ud-Daulah Ahmad Ali Khan Saulat Jang and Jalal-ud-Daulah Mehdi Ali Khan Shujaat Jang, the first was afterwards crowned King Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar of Oudh.

260. *Akbar Namah*, 2 Vols. bound in one. Copy from the above mentioned library. Contains two seals.

261. *Fihrist Jamabandi Mamalik Mahrusa Subajat* (Revenue return of the Mughal Empire) compiled in the reign of Aurangzib, this copy was written in the reign of Emperor Shah Alam II. (Very rare copy.)

262. (*Tarikh*) *Timur Namah* was from the reign of Babar. (Rare copy).

263. "*Zeech*," *viz.*, Astronomy of Persians compiled by Abdul Qadir ibn Hasan Royami with diagrams showing the stars and planets. (Very rare copy.)

264. History of the Mughals up to the reign of Akbar with the history of the Deccan, Gujrat and Malwa Kings as well as stories of *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* and *Avatars* compiled by Tahir Muhammad ibn Imad-ud-Din Hasan Sabzwari, one of the *Ulamas* of the Court of Emperor Akbar.

**From Mr. M. M. Askari, Lucknow.**

265. Spectacle de la Nature: or Nature Displayed. Being Discourses of such particulars of natural history as were thought most proper to excite the curiosity and form the minds of youth. (Illustrated with copper plates.)

Vol. II.

Translated from the original French.

By Mr. Humphreys.

London, MDCCXXXIX.

### From Maulana Qutbuddin Muhammad Abdul Wali, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow.

266. *Farman* of Akbar.
267. *Farman* of Aurangzib.
268. Ditto.
269. Ditto.
270. A manuscript copy of the geography of the world with maps. Compiled by one of the pupils of Farangi Mahal.

### From Maulvi Anis Ahmad Sahib Abbasi.

271. *Masnavi* of Maulana Rum (a manuscript copy 400 years old).

### From Hakim Abdul Hasib, Lucknow.

272-286. Glass frames containing specimens of Arabic and Persian calligraphy.

287. A Chapter from *Quran* (*Sura Baqar*).
288. One manuscript book on Anatomy in Persian, 1072 A. H.

### From Saiyid Muhammad Zaki Ali Khan, Hatif.

289. A brick dated 1047 A. H.

### From Shiva Pershad Khare, Divisional Superintendent's Office, East Indian Railway, Lucknow.

290. Gagendra Moksh with 4 hand paintings (Sanskrit).
291. *Sharah-i-Sikandarnamah* with 2 seals of Ahmad Shah 1163 *Hijira* (Persian).
292. *Qissah Laili and Majnun* with one seal of year 1092 A. H. (Dalchand).
293. *Qissah Kamrup*, year 1202 A. H.
294. *Kalam-i-Arshi* (Arshi, brother of Mir Salah).
295. *Rubaiyat-i-Arshi* (Ditto).
296. *Diwan-i-Arshi* (Ditto).
297. *Mutafarraqat-i-Arshi* (Ditto).
298. *Ash'ar Maghribi.*
299. Ruqat Tawarikhi.
300. *Ramayan* (Mullah Masih), 1212 A. H.
301. Diwan Wiqar.

**From Pandit Iqbal Shankar Sahib, Lucknow.**

**(Retd. General Supdt., Dy. Commissioner's Office.)**

302. A history in Persian of the Prophets and the Muhammadan *Khulafa* and Kings and others, compiled in 904 A. H.

**From Mr. Gouri Prasad Saksena, Lucknow.**

303. *Farman* of Aurangzib. The Royal Order issued to Saiyid Shahamat Khan through Prince Mu'azzam to check the rebellion of the Afghans through the Khyber Pass.
304. Shuja-ud-Daulah. A contemporary sketch on vellum.
305. Raushan-ud-Daulah. The architect of the Qaisarbagh. He was the Prime Minister of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar, *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh.

**From Munshi Hashen Narain Bhargava.**

PAINTING.

306. Peacock Throne (Delhi).

**From Shyama Kishore Srivastava, Lucknow University.**

307. History of the Mughal Kings in Persian. (Undated.)

**From Fyzabad Museum.**

308. Revenue arrangement of Salim Shah, son of Akbar, 1011 A. H.—1602 A. D.
309. The seal of Jahangir Shah, frame no. 2 containing three *farmans*.
310. Akbar's official grant 999 A. H.
311. An administrative order by Akbar 981 A. H.
312. Land grant of Akbar 993 A. H.—1585 A. D., frame no. 3 containing three *farmans*.
313. Akbar's order on complaint 981 A. H., frame no. 4 containing two *farmans*.
314. An order of restoration of property by Shahjahan, Sahib *Qiran Sani* of 1052 A. H.—1642 A. D.
315. Land grant of Shahjahan of the year 7 *Julus*, 1614 A. D., frame no. 5 containing three *farmans*.
316. Order issued by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah, 1109 A. H.
317. An official account of Asaf-ud-Daulah's reign, 1109 A. H., 1735 A. D. frame no. 6 containing four *farmans*.
318. Order issued by Wajid Ali Shah, 1265 A. H.—1849 A. D.

**From Fyzabad Museum**—*concld.*

319. Land grant of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, 1160 A. H.—1755 A. D.

320. Order under seal of Amjad Ali Shah, 1260 A. H.—1844 A. D.

321. Land grant of Humayun, 943 A. H.—1536 A. D.

**From Fasihud Daulah Maulvi Muhammad Nazir Hasan Kamal Abbasi of Sandila, Hardoi.**

322. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* with illuminated title page, Vol. I, written A. H. 1023.

323. *Tarikh-i-Firishta* with illuminated title page, Vol. II, written, A. H. 1023.

324. *Mawahib-ul-Ladunnya* by Shahab-ud-Din Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakr Qastalani Misri, written 904 A. H. (contains seals of Sultan Mirza Muhammad Husain Safwi, King of Persia and others).

325. Burhan-i-Qati, contains seals of Sulaiman Shah, Amjad Ali Shah and Wajid Ali Shah, Kings of Oudh.

326. Hidaya, written by Muhammad Baqi bin Usman Samarqandi in 1004 A. H. for Prince Muhammad Sultan, son of Aurangzib. (Contains seals of Qabil Khan, *vazir* of Aurangzib.)

327. *Kanz-ud-Daqaiq* with explanatory notes on the margin written in 874 A. H. by Ibrahim Ahmad Qitwi Hasani. Contains seals of Muhammad Amin. A specimen of fine calligraphy.

328. *Harba-i-Haidari*, by Murshid Quli Salim, written by the author himself in A. H. 953. Illuminated.

329. *Jangnamah Badshah Alamgir* by Raja Jaswant Rathor, ruby of Ajmir. (Description of the battle with Aurangzib and Raja Jaswant Rathor, Raja of Ajmir.)

330. Manzar-ud-Daqaiq, written in A. H. 1091.

331. *Kulliyat Makhfi*, a complete copy, A. H. 1270.

332. *Qasaid* written in *Naskh*, by Raja Durga Prashad of Sandila in his own hand (contains photo of the Raja).

333. Qataat, by Raja Durga Prashad.

334. *Gulistan* of Sadi, with pen and ink sketches written by Mirza Hamza Mazindrani, 1241 A. H.

335. *Makhzan-ul-Jawahir* containing *Farmans* and letters of Mughal Kings of Persia and India up to Shah Alam II, A. H. 1196.

336. *Sharah Qasidah Burda*, by Irtiza, Ali Khan Gopamavi. (Contains seal of Akbar Jung.)

337. *Quran*, illuminated, written in A. H. 1106.

**From Fasihud Daulah Maulvi Muhammad Nazir Hasan Kamal Abbasi of Sandila, Hardoi**—*contd.*

FARMANS.

338. Sher Shah, A. H. 750, Agra.
339. Aurangzib.
340. Razavi Khan, Sadr-us-Sadur Alamgir.
341. Alamgir.
342. Muazzam Shah, son of Alamgir.

SPECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHY.

343. Ibadullah, A. H. 1286, illuminated.
344. Muhammad Amir Panja Kash, A. H. 1262, illuminated.
345. Muhammad Amir Panja Kash, A. H. 1264, illuminated.
346. Abu Zafar Sirajuddin Bahadur Shah.
347. Shirin Raqam, illustrated.
348. Nawab Nasiruddin, King of Oudh, illuminated.
349. Muhammad Amir, illuminated.
350. Hidayat Ali, very old, A. H. 1213.
351. A very old *Katba* written with three colours.
352. Banda Ali.
353. Niyaz Ali, written on deerskin.
354. Hafiz Nurullah.
355. Muhammad Mahdi.
356. Nurullah.
357. Muhammad Mahdi, A. H. 1205.
358. Muhammad Askari.
359. Muhammad Askari.
360. Muhammad Askari.
361. Sadiq Ali.

COINS.

362. The first *sikka* struck during Muhammadan time.
363. Khalifa Amin-ur-Rashid of Baghdad.
364. Qutb-ud-Din Aibak.
365. Sultan Nasir-ud-Din.
366. Ala-ud-Din Khilji.
367. Ghayas-ud-Din Tughlaq.

**From Fasihud Daulah Maulvi Muhammad Nazir Hasan Kamal Abbasi of Sandila, Hardoi**—*concld.*

368. Ibrahim Lodi.
369. Islam Shah, son of Sher Shah.
370. Babar.
371. Akbar (6 coins).
372. Jahangir and Nur- Jahan (3 coins).
373. Shah Jahan.
374. Aurangzib (2 coins).
375. Murad Bakhsh.
376. Bahadur Shah I.
377. Kambakhsh.
378. Shah Alam I.
379. Farrukhsiyar.
380. Muhammad Shah (3 coins).
381. Ahmad Shah.
382. Akbar II.
383. Mahmud Shah Khilji of Malwa.
384. Ghayas Shah Khilji of Malwa.
385. Nasir Shah Khilji of Malwa.
386. Muzaffar Shah Mandu.
387. Chinklich Khan, Nizam-ul-Mulk, of Deccan.
388. Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar of Oudh.
389. Muhammad Ali Shah of Oudh.
390. Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh.
391. Raja Gandharap Sen (2 coins).
392. Two very old Greek coins.

**From Mr. Mukarram Ali Qidwai, Barabanki.**

393. Diwan-i-Hafiz. A complete copy, A. H. 1289.

**From Dr. Saiyid Irshad Ali, Moradabad.**

MANUSCRIPTS.

394. *Ain-i-Akbari.* 1200 A. H.
395. *Diwani-Hafiz.* 1100 A. H.
396. History of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer.

**From Dr. Saiyid Irshad Ali, Moradabad**—*concld.*

397. A piece of Jahangir's *farman*.
398. Judgment of Nawab Dundi Khan Bahadur Mahzer Mawhher Kasir.
399. Judgment of Shaikh Kabir for Sajjada Nashini.
400. *Bainama Shahi.*
401. *Bainama Shahi.*
402. *Bainama* English.
403. *Shajra* Saiyid Ghulam Qalandar Balkhi of Moradabad.
404. *Bazaria Farman* of Farrukhsiyar for five villages.
405. *Farlanger* Fakir.
406. Book of Astronomy.
407. *Zaicha* of Muhammad Shah Akbar II.
408. *Farman* of Farrukhsiyar.

MGIPC—L—X-6-7—29-8-27—251.